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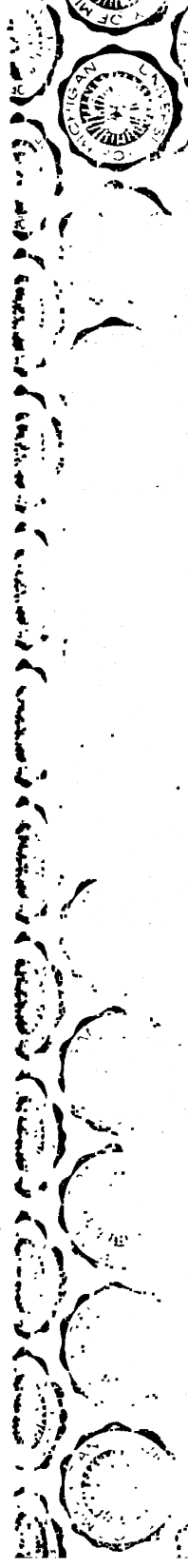
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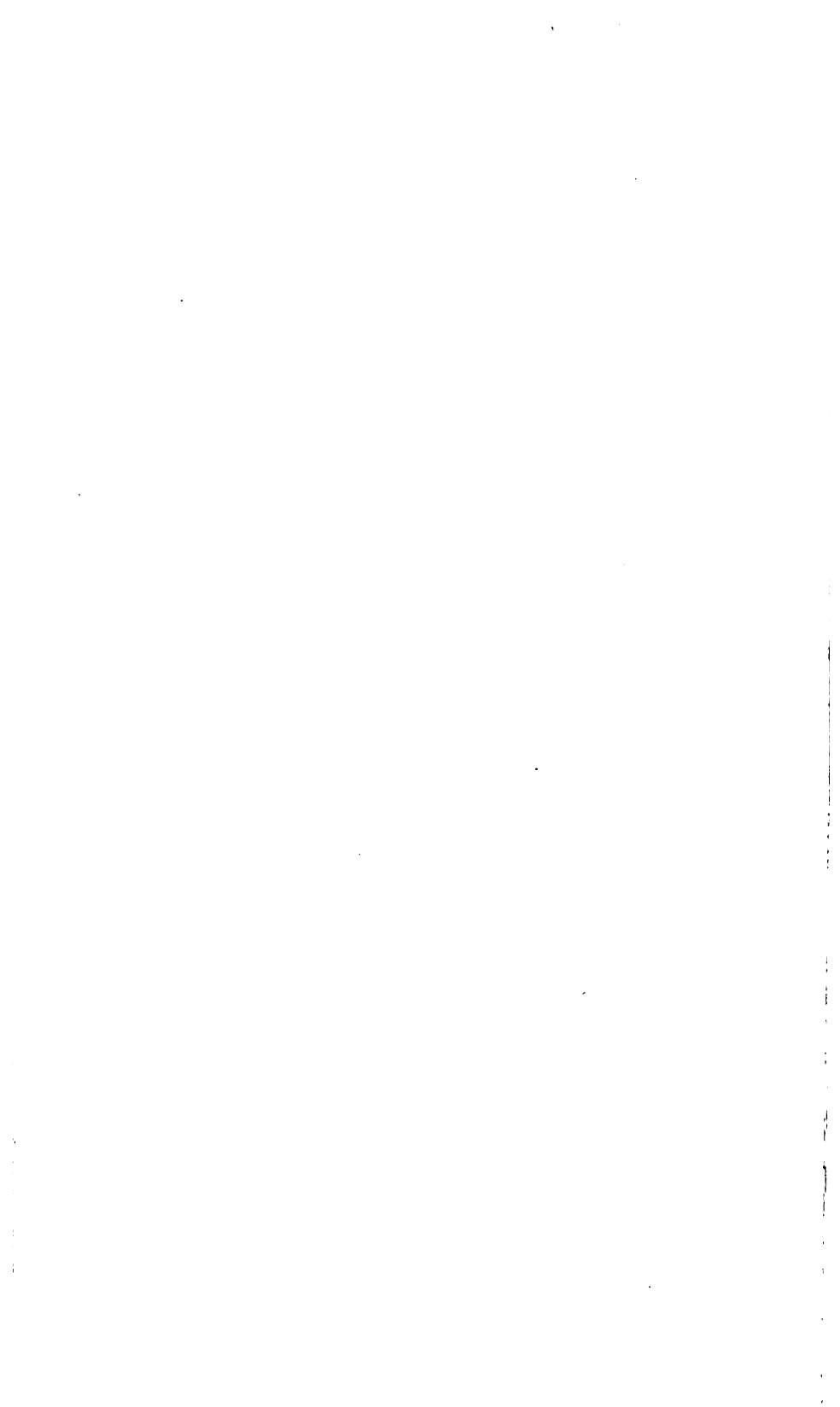
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Henry Thomas Buckle.





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A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES.

By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

Newly translated from the French,
By J.O. JUSTAMOND, F.R.S.

WITH A
NEW SET OF MAPS ADAPTED TO THE WORK,
AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

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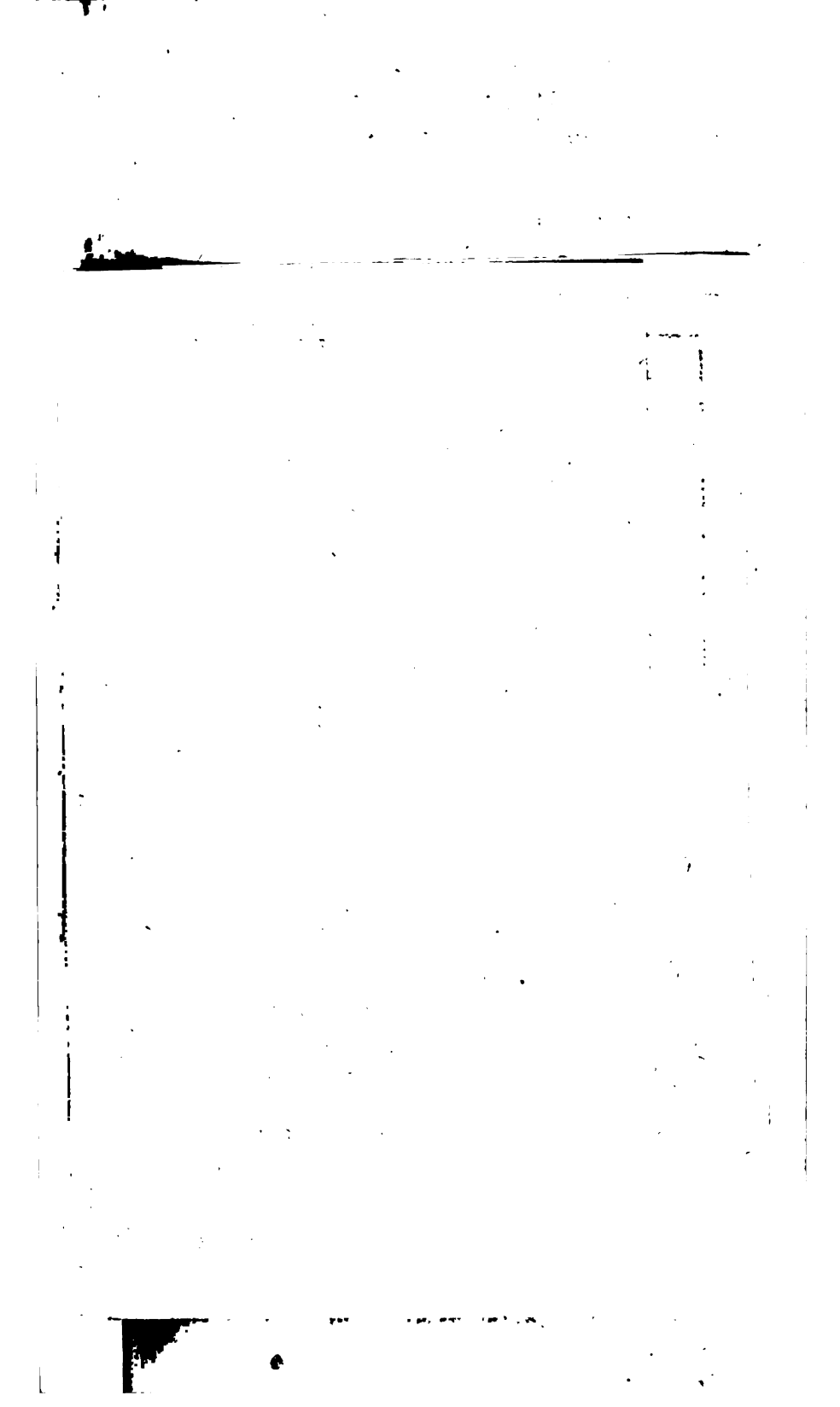
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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

E U R O P E A N S

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

B O O K III.

*Settlements, Trade, and Conquests of the English
in the East Indies.*

WE are totally unacquainted either with the period in which the British Isles were peopled, or with the origin of their first inhabitants. All we can learn from the most authentic historical records, is, that they were successively visited by the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, and the Gauls. The traders of these nations used to go there to exchange earthen vessels, salt, all kinds of iron and copper instruments, for skins, slaves, hounds, and bull-dogs, and especially for tin. The commodities exchanged were valued in proportion to their utility. Such mercantile articles were brought to these people, as they undoubtedly set a higher value upon, than those which they offered in exchange. Neither of these parties are to

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Sketch of
the ancient
state of the
English
commerce.

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be accused either of ignorance or dishonesty. To whatever country of the universe we may repair, men will always be found as cunning as ourselves; and they will ever give those things they esteem the least, in return for those which are in greater repute among them.

A MERE loose speculation would lead us to imagine, that islanders have been the first civilized people among mankind. Nothing puts a stop to the excursions of people living on a continent: they may rove about in quest of subsistence, and yet withdraw themselves from the scene of war. In islands, it should seem, that the establishment of laws and mutual compacts, must of course become sooner necessary, from the unavoidable conflicts of war, and the inconveniences of a too limited society. We observe, on the contrary, that the manners and the government of islanders, are formed later and more imperfectly. It is among these people that we trace the origin of that multitude of singular institutions that retard the progress of population. Anthropophagy, the castration of males, the infibulation of females, late marriages, the consecration of virginity, the approbation of celibacy, the punishments exercised against girls who became mothers at too early an age; perhaps also fastings, self-denials, and all those extravagancies that would arise in convents, if there were a monastery of men and women intermixed, in which the number of the former was by far the greatest, and without any possibility of emigration.

WHEN

WHEN these Islanders have found out the means of escaping from the narrow circuit in which natural causes had confined them during a series of ages, they carry their customs along with them to the continents, where they have been perpetuated from one century to another, and where philosophers of our days are still embarrassed to investigate the reason of them. The superabundance of population in islands, was the cause of the tardy progress of civilization among their inhabitants; since it became necessary to put a continual stop to that superabundance by violent measures. An extreme state of barbarism prevails upon that spot, where the members of the same family are compelled to extirpate each other. It is the intercourse of people among themselves, which diminishes their ferocity, as it is their separation from each other which contributes to prolong it. The Islanders of our days have not entirely lost their primitive character; and perhaps an attentive observer might find some traces of it even in Great-Britain.

THE dominion of the Romans was not sufficiently durable, nor sufficiently uninterrupted to improve, in any considerable degree, the industry of the Britons. Even the small progress that husbandry and the arts had made during this period, was lost as soon as that haughty power had determined to abandon this conquest. The spirit of slavery which the southern inhabitants of Britain had contracted, deprived them of the courage necessary, to resist, at first, the overflowings of their neighbours the Picts, who had saved them-

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elves from the yoke by flying towards the north of the island, and prevented them afterwards from being able to oppose the more destructive, more obstinate, and more numerous expeditions of plunderers, that poured in swarms from the northern parts of Europe.

ALL nations were affected with this dreadful scourge, the most destructive, perhaps, that ever was recorded in the annals of the world; but the calamities which Great Britain particularly experienced are inexpressible. Every year, several times even in a year, her countries were ravaged, her houses burnt, her women ravished, her temples stripped, her inhabitants massacred, put to torture, or enslaved. All these misfortunes succeeded each other with inconceivable rapidity. When the country was so far destroyed that nothing remained to glut the avidity of these barbarians, they seized on the land itself. One nation succeeded another. One band supervening, expelled or exterminated the one that was already established; and this succession of revolutions constantly kept up indolence, mistrust and misery. In these dispiriting times, the Britons had scarce any commercial connection with the continent. Exchanges were even so rare among them, that it was necessary to have witnesses for the sale of the least trifle.

It might have been expected that the union of the two kingdoms would have put a stop to these calamities, when William the Conqueror subdued Great Britain a little while after the middle of the eleventh century. His followers came from countries

ries rather more civilized, more active, and more industrious, than those they came to settle in. Such a communication ought naturally to have rectified and enlarged the ideas of the conquered people. Unfortunately, the introduction of the feudal government occasioned so speedy and so complete a revolution in matters of property, that every thing was throw'n into confusion.

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THE minds of men were scarcely settled, and the conquerors and the conquered had but just begun to consider themselves as one and the same people, when the abilities and strength of the nation were engaged in supporting the pretensions of their sovereigns to the crown of France. In these obstinate wars, the English displayed military talents and courage; but, after several great efforts, and considerable success, they were forced back into their island, where domestic troubles exposed them to fresh calamities.

DURING these different periods, the whole commerce was in the hands of the Jews and the bankers of Lombardy, who were alternately favoured and robbed, considered as useful persons, and condemned to death, expelled and recalled. These tumults were increased by the audacity of the pirates, who being sometimes protected by the government with which they shared their spoils, attacked all ships indiscriminately, and frequently sank their crews. The interest of money was at fifty per cent. Leather, furs, butter, lead, and tin, were the only things exported from England at a very moderate rate, and thirty thousand sacks of wool, which returned annually a

more considerable sum. As the English were then totally unacquainted with the art of dying this wool, and manufacturing it with elegance, the greatest part of this money returned. To remedy this inconvenience, foreign manufacturers were invited, and the people were prohibited from wearing any clothes that were not of home manufacture. At the same time, the exportation of manufactured wool and wrought iron was forbidden; two laws altogether worthy of the age in which they were instituted.

HENRY VII. permitted the barons to dispose of their lands, and the common people to buy them. This regulation diminished the inequality which subsisted before between the fortunes of the lords and their vassals; it made the latter more independent, and inspired the people with the desire of enriching themselves, and with the hope of enjoying their riches. There were many obstacles to this wish, and this hope; some of which were removed. The company of merchants established at London was prevented from exacting in future the sum of one thousand five hundred and seventy-five livres * from each of the other merchants in the kingdom, desirous of trading at the great fairs of the Low Countries. In order to fix a greater number of people to the labours of husbandry, it was enacted, that no person should put his son or daughter out to any kind of apprenticeship, without being possessed of a revenue of twenty-two livres ten sols † in landed

* 65 l. 10 s. 6 d.

† 18 s. 4 d.

property: this absurd law was afterwards mitigated. BOOK
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UNFORTUNATELY, that law which regulated the price of all sorts of provisions, of woollens, of workmen's wages, of stuffs, and of clothing, was maintained in full force. Other impediments even were throw'n in the way of commerce, on account of some pernicious combinations that were set on foot. It was a circumstance then unknown, that money, which is the representative of every thing, is, in it's turn, represented by all vendible articles; that it is a commodity, which, like all others, must be left to itself; that the value of it must necessarily rise or diminish every instant, from an infinite number of different incidents; that every regulation of policy upon this matter cannot but be absurd and detrimental; that one of the means of multiplying usurers, is to forbid usury, because this prohibition becomes an exclusive privilege for any one who sets the sense of shame at defiance; that every law is ridiculous, whenever there are positive means of eluding it; that the general competition which would arise from an unlimited liberty of trading with money, would necessarily reduce it to a lower interest; that ruinous loans, which it is the intention to prevent, would be less frequent, since the borrower would have nothing to pay but the value of the money borrowed; whereas, in the present state of things, we must add to this value the price which the usurer sets upon his conscience, upon his honour, and upon the risk he runs from committing an illegal act; a price

which rises in proportion to the scarcity of usurers, and to the rigour with which the prohibitive law is observed.

From the same want of discernment, the exportation of money in any kind of coin was forbidden; and, in order to prevent foreign merchants from carrying it clandestinely away, they were compelled to change into English merchandize the entire produce of the goods they had brought into England. The exportation of horses was likewise prohibited; and the people were not sufficiently enlightened to discover, that such a prohibition would necessarily cause the propagation and improvement of the species to be neglected. At length, corporations were established in all the towns; that is to say, the state authorized all persons of the same profession, to make such regulations as they should think necessary for their exclusive preservation and success. The nation is still oppressed with a regulation so contrary to general industry, and which reduces every thing to a kind of monopoly.

UPON considering such a number of strange laws, we might be induced to think that Henry was either indifferent about the prosperity of his kingdom, or that he was totally deficient in understanding. Nevertheless, it is certain that this prince, notwithstanding his extreme avarice, often lent considerable sums of money, without interest, to merchants who had not property sufficient to carry on the schemes they had planned: besides, the wisdom of his government is so well confirmed

ed, that he is accounted, with reason, one of the greatest monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of England. But, notwithstanding all the efforts of genius, it requires a succession of several ages before any science can be reduced to simple principles. It is the same thing with theories as with machines, which are always very complicated at first, and which are only freed in the course of time, by observation and experience, from those useless wheels which served merely to increase their friction.

THE knowledge of the succeeding reigns was not much more extensive upon those matters we are treating of. Some Flemings, settled in England, were the only good workmen in that country; they were almost always insulted and oppressed by the English workmen, who were jealous of them without emulation. The latter complained that all the customers went to the Flemings, and that these occasioned a rise in the price of corn. The government adopted these popular prejudices, and forbade all strangers to employ more than two workmen in their shops. The merchants were not better treated than the workmen, and those even who were naturalized, were obliged to pay the same duties as aliens. Ignorance was so general, that the cultivation of the best lands was neglected, in order to convert them into pastures, even at the time that the number of sheep, which might be in one flock, was restrained by the laws to two thousand. All mercantile correspondences were centred in the Low Countries. The inhabitants of these provinces

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vinces bought the English commodities, and circulated them through the different parts of Europe. It is probable that the nation would not have, for a long time, emerged from this situation, had it not been for a concurrence of favourable circumstances.

THE Duke of Alva's cruelties drove several able manufacturers into England, who carried the art of the fine Flemish manufactures to London. The persecutions which the Protestants suffered in France, supplied England with workmen of all kinds. Elizabeth, impatient of contradiction, but knowing and desirous of doing what was right, at once despotic and popular, with the advantages of a good understanding, and of being properly obeyed, availed herself of the fermentation of men's minds, as prevalent throughout all her dominions as through the rest of Europe; and while this fermentation produced, among other nations, nothing but theological disputes, and civil or foreign wars, in England it gave rise to a lively spirit of emulation for commerce, and for the improvement of navigation.

THE English learned to build their ships at home, which they bought before of the merchants of Lubec and Hamburg. They were soon the only persons who traded to Muscovy by the way of Archangel, newly discovered; and they presently became competitors with the Hanse towns in Germany, and in the north. They began to trade with Turkey. Several of their navigators attempted, though in vain, to discover a passage to India by the northern seas. At length Drake, Stephens,

Stephens, Cavendish, and some others, reached that place, some by the South Sea, and others by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

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THE success of these voyages was sufficient to determine the most able merchants of London to establish a company in the year 1600; which obtained an exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies. The act which granted this privilege fixed it for fifteen years: it declared, that if it should prove injurious to the state, it should be annulled, and the company suppressed, by giving two years previous notice to its members.

First voy-
ages of the
English to
India.

THIS clause of reserve arose from the displeasure the commons had lately shewn on account of a grant, the novelty of which might possibly offend them. The queen had returned to the house, and had spoken on this occasion in a manner worthy to serve as a lesson to all sovereigns.

“GENTLEMEN,” said she to the members of the house commissioned to return her thanks, “I am extremely sensible of your attachment, and of the care you have taken to give me an authentic testimony of it. This affection for my person had determined you to apprise me of a fault I had inadvertantly fallen into from ignorance, but in which my will had no share. If your vigilance had not discovered to me the mischiefs which my mistake might have produced, what pain should I not have felt—I, who have nothing dearer to me than the affection and preservation of my people? May my hand suddenly wither, may my heart be struck at once with a deadly blow, before I shall ever
“grant

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“ grant particular privileges that my subjects
 “ may have reason to complain of! The splen-
 “ dour of the throne has not so far dazzled my
 “ eyes, that I should prefer the abuse of an un-
 “ bounded authority to the use of a power exer-
 “ cised by justice. The brilliancy of royalty
 “ blinds only those princes who are ignorant of
 “ the duties that the crown imposes. I dare be-
 “ lieve that I shall not be ranked among such
 “ monarchs. I know that I hold not the scepter
 “ for my own proper advantage, and that I am
 “ entirely devoted to the society, which has put
 “ its confidence in me. It is my happiness to
 “ see that the state has hitherto prospered under
 “ my government; and that my subjects are
 “ worthy that I should yield up my crown and
 “ my life for their sakes. Impute not to me the
 “ improper measures I may be engaged in, nor
 “ the irregularities which may be committed un-
 “ der the sanction of my name. You know that
 “ the ministers of princes are too often guided
 “ by private interests, that truth seldom reaches
 “ the ears of kings, and that, obliged as they
 “ are, from the multiplicity of affairs they are
 “ laden with, to fix their attention on those which
 “ are of the greatest importance, it is impossible
 “ they should see every thing with their own
 “ eyes.”

FROM the perusal of this wise speech, we should be inclined to believe, that an absolute monarch, who is just, steady, and enlightened, would be the best of princes: but on the other hand, we should consider, that if this reign were to be last-
 ing,

ing, the people would neglect the assertion of those rights, of which they would have no occasion to avail themselves; and that nothing could be more fatal to them than the continuation of this lethargy, under a reign similar to the first, unless it be the prolongation of it under a third. Nations sometimes make attempts to deliver themselves from an oppression imposed by violence; but never strive to set themselves free from a state of slavery, into which they have been led by mild and gentle proceedings. Sooner or later a tyrant, either weak minded, or cruel, or devoid of understanding, will succeed to the management of an absolute power, which has never been opposed. The people who are the victims of this despotism, think they are destined to be so. They have lost the sense of liberty, which can only be maintained by perpetual exertion. Perhaps, had the English been governed by three successive sovereigns similar to Elizabeth, they would have been the most abject of all slaves.

THE funds of this company were, at first, far from being considerable. Part of them was expended in fitting out a fleet of four ships, which sailed in the beginning of the year 1601; and the rest was sent abroad in money and merchandise.

LANCASTER, who commanded the expedition, arrived the year following at the port of Achem, which was at that time a very celebrated mart. Intelligence had been received there of the victories gained by the English over the Spaniards at sea; and this intelligence procured him a most distinguished reception. The king behaved to him

BOOK III. him in the same manner as if he had been his equal; he ordered that his own wives richly habited, should play several airs in his presence, on a variety of instruments. This favour was followed by all the compliances that could be wished for to facilitate the establishment of a safe and advantageous commerce. The English admiral was received at Bantam in the same manner as at the place where he first landed; and a ship, which he had dispatched to the Molucca islands, brought him a considerable cargo of cloves and nutmegs. With these valuable spices, and the pepper he took in at Java and Sumatra, he returned safe to Europe.

THIS early success determined the society, who had intrusted their interests in the hands of this able man, to form settlements in India; but not without the consent of the natives. They did not wish to begin with conquests. Their expeditions were nothing more than the enterprises of humane and fair traders. They conciliated to themselves the affection of the people; but this procured them no advantage, except a few factories; and they were in no condition to sustain the rivalry of other nations that had made themselves formidable.

THE Portuguese and the Dutch were in possession of large provinces, well fortified places, and good harbours. By these advantages their trade was secured against the natives of the country, and against new competitors; their return to Europe was facilitated; and they had opportunities of getting a good sale for the commodities

cities they carried to Asia, and of purchasing those BOOK
III.
 they wanted at a moderate price. The English, on the contrary, exposed to the caprice of seasons and of the people, having no strength, or place of security, and deriving their supplies from England only, could not, according to the ideas then prevailing, carry on an advantageous trade. They thought that it was difficult to acquire great riches without great injustice, and that, in order to surpass or even equal the nations they had censured, they must pursue the same conduct. This was an error which led them into false measures. With maxims more salutary, they would have been sensible, that if goodness, mildness, benevolence, and humanity, do not lead to prosperity so rapidly as violence; yet the power that is fixed upon so respectable a basis, will be more firm and durable. By tyranny, a precarious authority and a disturbed possession, can only be obtained; while that which flows from justice, attracts, in the end, every thing to it's own center. The dominion of force is considered as a scourge, that of virtue as a blessing; and I never can be convinced, that it is a matter of indifference, whether we make our appearance before foreign nations, in the character of infernal spirits, or in that of celestial beings.

THE plan of forming lasting settlements, and of attempting conquests, seemed too great to be accomplished by the forces of an infant society: but they flattered themselves that they should meet with protection, because they thought themselves useful. They were disappointed in their expectations. They could obtain nothing from

James

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III.

James I. a weak prince, infected with the false philosophy of his age, a man of wit, of a subtile and pedantic genius, and better qualified to be at the head of an university than to preside over an empire. By their activity, perseverance, and judicious choice of officers and factors, the company provided those succours which were refused them by their sovereign. They erected forts, and founded colonies in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda. In this manner they shared the spice trade with the Dutch, which will always be the most certain branch of eastern commerce, because the objects of it are become necessary articles of life. It was of more importance at the time we are speaking of, because the luxury which arises from caprice had not then made so much progress in Europe as it has done since, and because there was not that prodigious demand for India linens, stuffs, teas, and Chinese varnish, that there is at present.

Disputes
between the
English and
Dutch.

THE Dutch had not driven the Portuguese from the spice-islands with a view of suffering a nation to settle there, whose maritime force, character, and form of government, rendered their rivalry still more formidable. They had many advantages on their side, such as powerful colonies, a well-exercised navy, firm alliances, a great fund of wealth, a knowledge of the country, and of the principles and details of commerce; while the English, who were deficient in all these particulars, were attacked, in all possible ways.

THE first step their rival took was to drive them from the fertile places, where they had formed settlements. In the islands where their
power

power was less established; they endeavoured, by accusations, equally void of truth and decency, to make them odious to the natives of the country. These shameful expedients not meeting with all the success the Dutch expected, those avaricious traders resolved to proceed to acts of violence. An extraordinary occasion brought on the commencement of hostilities sooner than it was imagined.

It is a custom at Java for the new-married women to dispute with their husbands the first favours of love. This kind of contest, which the men take a pride in terminating immediately, and the women in protracting as long as possible, sometimes lasts several weeks. From whence can this capricious refinement of coquetry proceed, since it exists not in the nature of man, nor in that of the brute? Does the Javanese woman intend, by this conduct, to inspire her husband with confidence in her morals both before and after marriage? Does she mean to irritate his passions, which are always more violent in a ravisher than in a favoured lover? Or does she think of enhancing the value she sets upon her charms, upon her favours, and upon the sacrifice of her liberty? The king of Bantam having just overcome the resistance of a new bride, made public entertainments in celebration of his triumph. The strangers in the harbour were invited to these festivals. The English, unfortunately for them, were treated with too much distinction. The Dutch looked with a jealous eye upon this preference, and did not defer revenge a moment. They attacked them on all sides.

THE Indian ocean became, at this period, the scene of the most bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two nations. They fought out, attacked, and combated each other with the spirit of men who chose to conquer or to die. Equal courage appeared on both sides, but there was a disparity in their forces. The English were on the point of being overcome, when some moderate people in Europe, which the flames of war had not reached, endeavoured to find out the means of accommodating their differences. By an infatuation, which it is not easy to explain, the very strangest of all was adopted.

IN 1619, the two companies signed a treaty, the purport of which was, that the Molucca islands, Amboyna and Banda, should belong in common to the two nations: that the English should have one third, and the Dutch two thirds of the produce at a fixed price: that each, in proportion to the benefit they received, should contribute to the defence of these islands: that a council, composed of skilful men of both parties, should regulate all the affairs of commerce at Batavia: that this agreement, guaranteed by the respective sovereigns, should last twenty years: and that, if any differences should arise during this interval that could not be settled by the two companies, they should be determined by the king of Great Britain and the States-general of the United Provinces. Among all the political conventions preserved in history, it would be difficult to find a more extraordinary one than this. It met with the fate it deserved.

THE Dutch in India were no sooner informed of it, than they devised means to render it ineffectual. The situation of affairs favoured their designs. The Spaniards and the Portuguese had taken advantage of the disputes between their enemies, to regain the settlements in the Moluccas. They might fortify themselves there; and it was dangerous to give them time. The English commissaries concurred with them in opinion, that it would be best to attack them without delay; but added, that they were not in the least prepared to act in concert with them. This declaration, which was expected, was registered; and their associates embarked alone in an expedition, all the advantages of which they reserved to themselves. The agents of the Dutch company had only one step further to go, to get all the spices into the hands of their masters, which was, to drive their rivals from the island of Amboyna. The method by which they succeeded in this project was very extraordinary.

A JAPANESE, in the Dutch service at Amboyna, made himself suspected by his imprudent curiosity. He was seized, and confessed that he had entered into an engagement with the soldiers of his nation to deliver up the fort to the English. His comrades confirmed his account, making the same confession. Upon these unanimous depositions, the authors of the conspiracy, who did not disavow, but even acknowledged it, were loaded with irons: and the ignominious death which all the criminals were condemned to suffer, put an

B O O K III. end to the plot. This is the account given by
 { the Dutch.

THE English have always considered this accusation as the suggestion of an unbounded avarice. They have maintained, that it was absurd to suppose, that ten factors and eleven foreign soldiers could have formed the project of seizing upon a place which was garrisoned by two hundred men: that even, if these unhappy persons had thought it possible to execute so extravagant a plan, they would have been discouraged by the impossibility of obtaining succours to defend them against an enemy who would have besieged them on all sides. To make a conspiracy of this kind probable, it requires stronger proof than a confession extorted from the accused by extremity of torture. The torments of the rack never afforded any other proof, than that of the courage or weakness of those whom barbarous custom had condemned to it. These considerations, strengthened by several others almost equally convincing, have made the story of the conspiracy of Amboyna so suspected, that it has generally been considered as a mere excuse for the most atrocious avarice.

THE ministry of James I. and the whole nation, were at that time so engaged in ecclesiastical subtleties, and the discussion of the rights of king and people, that they were not sensible of the insults offered to the English name in the East. This indifference produced a caution which soon degenerated into weakness. These islanders,
 however,

however, maintained the bravery of their character better at Coromandel and Malabar.

THEY had established factories at Mazulipatam, Calicut, and several other ports, and even at Delhi. Surat, the richest mart in these countries, tempted their ambition in 1611. The inhabitants were disposed to receive them; but the Portuguese declared, that if this nation were suffered to make a settlement, they would burn all the towns upon the coast, and seize all the Indian vessels. The government was awed by these menaces. Middleton, disappointed in his hopes, was obliged to abandon the place, and return through a numerous fleet, to which he did more damage than he received from it.

CAPTAIN Thomas Best arrived in these latitudes the year following, with a very considerable force. He was received at Surat without any opposition. The agents he carried out with him had scarce entered upon their employments when a formidable armament from Goa made it's appearance. The English admiral, reduced to this alternative, either of betraying the interests he was intrusted with, or of exposing himself to the greatest danger in defending them, did not hesitate what part he should take. He twice attacked the Portuguese, and, notwithstanding the great inferiority of his squadron, gained the victory each time. However, the advantage the vanquished derived from their position, their ports, and their fortresses, always made the English navigation in Guzarat very difficult. They were obliged to maintain a constant struggle against an

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Disputes of
the English
with the
Portuguese.

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The English
form con-
nections
with Persia.

obstinate enemy that was not discouraged by defeats. No tranquillity was to be obtained, but at the price of new contests and new triumphs.

THE news of these glorious successes, against a nation which had hitherto been thought invincible, reached as far as the capital of Persia.

THIS vast country, so celebrated in antiquity, appears to have been free at the first institution of its government. The monarchy rose upon the ruins of a depraved republic. The Persians were long happy under this form of government: their manners were as simple as their laws. At length, the sovereigns were inspired with the spirit of conquest. At that time, the treasures of Assyria, the spoils of many trading nations, and the tribute arising from a vast number of provinces, brought immense riches into the empire, which soon occasioned a total alteration. The disorders rose to such a pitch, that the care of the public amusements seemed to engage the chief attention of government.

A PEOPLE, totally devoted to pleasure, could not fail, in a short time, of being reduced to slavery. They were successively brought into that state by the Macedonians, the Parthians, the Arabians, and the Tartars, and towards the close of the fifteenth century by the Sophis, who pretended to be the descendents of Aly, author of the famous reformation, by which Mohammedism was divided into two branches.

No prince of this new race made himself so famous as Schah-Abbas, surnamed the Great. He conquered Candahar, several places of im-

portance

portance upon the Black Sea, part of Arabia, and drove the Turks out of Georgia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and all the countries they had conquered beyond the Euphrates. BOOK
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THESE victories produced remarkable changes in the interior administration of the empire. The great men took advantage of the civil broils to make themselves independent; they were degraded, and all posts of consequence were given to strangers, who had neither the power nor inclination to raise factions. The army having taken upon themselves to dispose of the crown at their pleasure; they were restrained by foreign troops, whose religion and customs were different. Anarchy had inclined the people to sedition; and to prevent this, the towns and villages were filled with inhabitants chosen out of nations, whose manners and character bore no resemblance to those of the ancient inhabitants. These arrangements gave rise to a despotism the most absolute, perhaps, that any country has ever experienced.

It is a matter of astonishment, that the great Abbas should have combined some views of public utility with this government, which was naturally oppressive. He patronized the arts, and established them in the capital, and in the provinces. All persons who brought into his dominions talents of any kind, were sure of being well received, assisted, and rewarded. He would often say, that strangers were the best ornaments of an empire, and added more to the dignity of the prince than the pomp of the most refined luxury.

WHILE Persia was rising from it's ruins by the different branches of industry that were every where established, a number of Armenians, transplanted to Ispahan, carried the spirit of commerce into the heart of the empire. In a little time, these traders, and the natives of the country who followed their example, spread themselves over the East, into Holland, England, the Mediterranean, and the Baltic, and wherever commerce was carried on with spirit and advantage. The Sophi himself bore a part in their enterprizes, and advanced them considerable sums, which they employed to advantage in the most celebrated marts in the world. They were obliged to return the capital on the terms agreed upon, and if they had increased it by their industry, he granted them some recompence.

THE Portuguese, who found that part of the Indian trade with Asia and Europe was likely to be diverted to Persia, imposed restraints upon it. They would not suffer the Persians to purchase merchandize any where but from their magazines : they fixed the price of it ; and if they sometimes allowed it to be taken at the places where it was manufactured, it was always to be carried in their own bottoms, charging all expences of freight and exorbitant customs. This stretch of power displeased the great Abbas, who being informed of the resentment of the English, proposed to unite their maritime strength with his land forces, to besiege Ormus. This place was attacked by the combined arms of the two nations, and taken in the year 1623, after a contest that lasted two months.

months. The conquerors divided the spoil, which BOOK
III. was immense, and afterwards totally demolished the place.

THREE or four leagues from hence the harbour of Gombroon presented itself, since called Bender Abassi. Nature seemed not to have designed that it should be inhabited. It is situated at the foot of a ridge of mountains of an excessive height; the air you breathe seems to be on fire; fatal vapours are continually exhaling from the bowels of the earth; the fields are black and dry, as if they had been scorched with fire. Notwithstanding these inconveniencies, as Bender-Abassi had the advantage of being placed at the entrance of the Gulph, the Persian monarch chose to make it the center of the extensive trade he intended to carry on with India. The English joined in this project. A perpetual exemption from all imposts, and a moiety of the product of the customs, were granted them, on condition that they should maintain, at least, two men of war in the Gulph. This precaution was thought necessary to frustrate the attempts of the Portuguese, whose resentment was still to be dreaded.

FROM this time Bender-Abassi, which was before a poor fishing town, became a flourishing city. The English carried thither spices, pepper, and sugar, from the markets of the East; and iron, lead, and cloths, from the ports of Europe. The profits arising from these commodities were increased by the very high freight paid them by the Armenians, who were still in possession of the richest branch of the Indian commerce.

THESE

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THESE merchants had, for a long time, been concerned in the linen trade. They had never been supplanted either by the Portuguese, who were intent only on plunder, or by the Dutch, whose attention was totally confined to the spice trade. They might, nevertheless, be apprehensive, that they should not be able to withstand the competition of a people who were equally rich, industrious, active, and frugal. The Armenians acted then as they have ever done since: they went to India, where they bought cotton, which they sent to the spinners; the cloths were manufactured under their own inspection, and carried to Gombroon, from whence they were transported to Ispahan. From thence they were conveyed into the different provinces of the empire, the dominions of the Grand Signior, and into Europe, where the custom has prevailed of calling them Persian manufactures, though they were never made but on the coast of Coromandel. Such is the influence of names upon opinions, that the vulgar error, which attributes to Persia the manufacture of India, will, in a series of ages, perhaps, pass with the learned in future times for an incontestible truth. The insurmountable difficulties which errors of this kind have occasioned in the history of Pliny, and other ancient writers, should induce us to set a high value on the labours of the literati of this age, who collect the works of nature and of art, with a view of transmitting them to posterity.

In exchange for the merchandize they carried to Persia, they gave the following articles, which were

were either the produce of their own soil, or the fruits of their industry.

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SILK, which was the principal commodity ; and was prepared and exported in great quantities.

CARAMANIAN wool, which nearly resembles that of the Vicuna. It was of great use in the manufacture of hats, and of some stuffs. It is a remarkable circumstance in the goats which supply it, that in the month of May the fleece falls off of itself.

TURQUOISES, which were more or less valuable, according as they were procured from one or other of the three mines that produce them. They were formerly an article of the dress of our ladies.

GOLD brocades, which sold at a higher price than any of those which are the produce of the most celebrated manufactures. Some of them were made to be wor'n on one, and others on both sides. They were used for window-curtains, screens, and magnificent sofas.

TAPESTRY, which has since been so well imitated in Europe, and has for a long time been the richest furniture of our rooms.

MOROCCO leather, which, as other skins, is brought to a degree of perfection that cannot be equalled any where else.

SHAGREEN, goats hair, rose-water, medicinal roots, gums for colours, dates, horses, arms, and many other articles, of which some were sold in India, and others carried to Europe.

ALTHOUGH the Dutch had contrived to get all the trade of the East Indies into their hands, they viewed

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viewed the transactions of Persia with a jealous eye. They thought the privileges enjoyed by their rivals in the road of Bender-Abassi, might be compensated by the advantage they had in having a greater quantity of spices; and entered into a competition with them.

Decline of
the English
in India.

THE English, harassed in every mart by a powerful enemy resolutely bent on their destruction, were obliged every where to give way. Their fate was hastened by those civil and religious dissensions, which drowned their country in blood, and extinguished all sentiment and knowlege. India was totally forgotten, while more important interests were at stake; and the company, oppressed and discouraged, were reduced to nothing at the time that the death of Charles I. afforded so instructive and dreadful a lesson.

CROMWELL, enraged at the favours the Dutch had shewn to the unfortunate family of the Stuarts, and at the asylum they had afforded to the English who had been proscribed; and piqued that the republic of the United Provinces should pretend to the dominion of the sea; proud of his success, and sensible of his own strength, and of that of the nation under his command, resolved at the same time to inspire respect for his country, and to avenge himself. He declared war against the Dutch.

OF all the maritime wars which have been recorded in history, none were conducted with more knowlege, or were more famous for the skill of the commanders, and the bravery of the sailors; none have abounded with so many obstinate and

bloody

bloody engagements. The English gained the ^{B O O K} superiority, and owed it to the size of their ships, ^{III.} in which particular they have since been imitated by other European nations.

THE Protector, whose voice was law, did not exert himself as far as he might in favour of India. He contented himself with providing for the security of the English trade, procuring a disavowal of the massacre at Amboyna, and insisting upon an indemnification for the descendents of the unhappy victims who perished in that dreadful transaction. No mention was made in the treaty, of the forts taken from the nation by the Dutch in the island of Java, and in several of the Moluccas. It was stipulated, indeed, that the island of Puleron should be returned; but the trees that furnish the spices were all rooted up before the island was restored to its former masters. As the soil however still remained, and that, in process of time, it might prove an obstacle to the monopoly which Holland meant to establish, it was retaken in 1666; and the republic could never be prevailed upon by the intreaties of France to give it up.

NOTWITHSTANDING this neglect, as soon as the company had obtained from the Protector a renewal of their privileges in 1657, and found themselves firmly supported by the public authority, they shewed a spirit of resolution which they had lost during their late misfortunes. Their courage increased with their privileges.

THE success they had met with in Europe, accompanied them into Asia, Arabia, Persia, Indostan,

Revival of
the English
trade in In-
dia.

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doftan, the eastern parts of India, China; and all the markets where the English had formerly traded, were opened to them. They were even received with more frankness and lefs diftrust than they had experienced formerly. Their trade was carried on with great activity, and their profits were very confiderable; nothing was wanting to complete their fuccefs, but to gain admittance into Japan, which they attempted. But the Japanese, being informed by the Dutch that the king of England had married a daughter of the king of Portugal, refufed to admit the English into their ports.

NOTWITHSTANDING this difappointment, the company's affairs were in a very flourishing condition: they flattered themfelves with the pleasing hopes of giving a greater extent and fecurity to their trade, when they found their career retarded by a rivalfhip, which their own fuccefs created.

Misfortunes
and mifcon-
duct of the
English in
India.

SOME traders, fired with the relation of the advantages to be obtained in India, refolved to undertake voyages to that country. Charles II. who, though feated on the throne, was nothing more than a private man of voluptuous and diffolute manners, gave them permiffion for a valuable confideration: while, on the other hand, he extorted large fums from the company, to enable him to perfecute thofe who encroached upon their charter. A competition of this nature would unavoidably degenerate into piracy. The English, thus becoming enemies to each other, carried on their difputes with a fpirit of rancour and animofity,

mosity, which lowered them in the opinion of the people of Asia.

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THE Dutch wished to take advantage of so singular a conjuncture. These republicans had for a long time been absolute masters of the Indian trade. They had seen with regret a part of it taken out of their hands, at the conclusion of the civil wars in England. They hoped to recover it by the superiority of their forces, when in 1664 the two nations entered into a war in all parts of the world; but the hostilities did not continue long enough to answer these sanguine expectations. As the peace prevented them from having recourse to open violence against one another, they resolved to attack the sovereigns of the country to oblige them to shut their ports against their rival. The foolish and despicable behaviour of the English increased the insolence of the Dutch, who proceeded so far as to drive them ignominiously from Bantam in 1680.

So serious and public an insult roused the spirit of the English company. The desire of re-establishing their character, gratifying their revenge, and maintaining their interests, animated them to the most spirited exertions. They equipped a fleet of twenty-three ships, with eight thousand regular troops on board. They were ready to sail, when their departure was postponed by the king's orders. Charles, whose necessities and licentiousness were unbounded, entertained hopes of receiving an immense sum to induce him to revoke this order. As he could not obtain it from his subjects, he was resolved to receive it from his enemies.

mies. He sacrificed the honour and trade of his nation for 2,250,000 livres*, which were paid him by the Dutch, who were intimidated by these great preparations. The intended expedition never took place.

THE company, exhausted by the expences of an armament which had been rendered useless by the venality of the court, sent their vessels to India without the necessary funds to supply the cargoes; but with orders to the factors, if possible, to take them upon credit. The faith they had hitherto observed in their engagements procured them 6,750,000 livres†. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the method that was taken to pay them back.

JOSIAS CHILD, who from being a director was become the tyrant of the Company, is said, unknown to his colleagues, to have sent orders to India, to invent some pretence or other to defraud the lenders of their money. The execution of this iniquitous project was entrusted to his brother John Child, who was governor of Bombay. This avaricious, turbulent, and savage man immediately proceeded to make several claims upon the governor of Surat, some more ridiculous than others. These demands being answered as they deserved, he attacked all the vessels belonging to the subjects of the crown of Delhi, and singled out in particular the ships from Surat, as being the richest. He paid no regard to vessels that sailed with passports from that crown, and

* 93,749 l.

† 281,250 l.

carried his insolence so far as to seize a fleet laden with provision for the Mogul's army. This terrible pillage, which lasted the whole year 1688, occasioned incredible losses throughout all Indostan.

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AURENGZEBE, who held the reins of the empire with a steady hand, did not lose a moment in revenging so great an outrage. In the beginning of the year 1589, one of his lieutenants landed with twenty thousand men at Bombay, an island of consequence on the coast of Malabar, which a princess of Portugal had brought as her dowry to Charles II. and which that monarch had ceded to the company in 1668. On the enemy's approach, the fort of Magazan was abandoned with such precipitation, that money, provisions, several chests of arms, and fourteen pieces of heavy cannon were left behind. The Indian general, encouraged by this first advantage, attacked the English in the field, routed them, and obliged them to retire into the principal fortress, which he invested, where he hoped soon to make them surrender.

CHILD, who was as cowardly in time of danger as he had been daring in his piracies, immediately dispatched deputies to the emperor's court, to sue for pardon. After many intreaties, and much submission, the English were admitted into the emperor's presence with their hands tied, and their faces towards the ground. Aurengzebe, who was desirous of preserving a connection which he thought would be useful to his subjects, was not inflexible. Having delivered himself in the stile of an incensed sovereign, who could, and ought,

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perhaps,

Bj O O K perhaps, to revenge himself, he yielded to their
III. intreaties and submission. The removal of the author of the troubles, and an adequate compensation for such of his subjects as had been plundered, was all the justice exacted on this occasion by the supreme will of the most despotic monarch that ever existed. On these moderate terms, the English were permitted still to enjoy the privileges they had obtained at different times in the roads belonging to the Mogul.

Thus ended this unhappy affair, which for several years interrupted the trade of the company, brought on an expence of between nine and ten millions *, occasioned the loss of five large vessels, and a greater number of small ones ; destroyed many thousand excellent sailors, and ended in the ruin of the credit and honour of the nation ; two particulars, the value of which is above every consideration, and for which the two Childs ought to have forfeited their lives.

By changing their maxims and their conduct, the company might have flattered themselves with the prospect of being extricated from the abyss into which their own behaviour had plunged them. These hopes were soon dashed by a revolution which did not directly concern them. James II. a tyrannical and fanatic prince, but one who understood maritime affairs and commerce better than any of his cotemporaries, was deposed. This event put all Europe in arms. The consequences of these bloody quarrels are well know'n. Perhaps,

* On an average about 416,000 l.

it is not a matter of such universal notoriety, that the French privateers took four thousand two hundred English merchantmen, valued at six hundred seventy-five millions of livres*, and that the greatest part of the vessels returning from India were included in this fatal list.

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THESE depredations were succeeded by a commercial arrangement, which must naturally hasten the ruin of the company. The French refugees had carried the culture of flax and hemp into Ireland and Scotland. For the encouragement of this branch of industry, it was thought proper to prohibit the wear of Indian linens, except muslins, and those which were necessary for the African trade. Was it possible that a body already exhausted should sustain so unforeseen, so heavy a stroke?

THE peace which should have put an end to these misfortunes, filled up the measure of them. A general clamour was raised in the three kingdoms against the company. It was not their decline that raised them enemies; it only encouraged those they had already. They had met with opposition at their first establishment. Ever since the year 1615, several politicians had declaimed against the trade to the East Indies. They asserted, that it weakened the naval strength by destroying great numbers of men; and lessened the Levant and Russian commerce, without affording an equivalent advantage. These clamours, though contradicted by judicious people, grew so violent to-

* 28,125,000 l.

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wards the year 1628, that the company, seeing themselves exposed to the odium of the nation, applied to government. They petitioned that the nature of their commerce might be examined : that it might be prohibited, if it were contrary to the interests of the state; and if favourable to them, that it might be authorised by a public declaration. The opposition of the nation, which had lain some time dormant, was renewed with more fury than ever, at the period we are speaking of. Those who were less severe in their speculations, consented to a trade with India ; but maintained that it should be laid open to the whole nation. An exclusive charter was, in their opinion, a manifest encroachment upon liberty. According to them, government was established by the people with a view of advancing the general good ; and it would be a crime against it to sacrifice public to private interests, by tolerating odious monopolies. They supported this useful and incontestable principle, by appealing to a recent instance. They urged, that, during the rebellion, the private merchants who had got possession of the Asiatic seas, carried double the quantity of national goods that were formerly brought, and were enabled to sell commodities on their return at so low a price as to supplant the Dutch in all European markets. But those acute republicans, who were certain of their ruin, if the English should continue any longer to conduct their affairs on the principles of universal liberty, bribed some persons to prevail with Cromwell to form a separate company. These secret practices were countenanced by the English
merchants

merchants concerned in that trade, who hoped for greater advantages in future ; when being the only venders, they might impose what terms they pleased upon the consumers. The protector, deceived by the artful insinuations of both, renewed the charter, but for seven years only, that he might alter his conduct, if he found reason to think he had taken a wrong step.

This step did not appear improper to every one. Several people were of opinion, that the trade to India could not be carried on with advantage, without an exclusive privilege ; but many of them maintained that the present charter was insufficient, because it had been granted to kings who had no right to grant it. They recited many acts of this kind which were abrogated by parliament in the reigns of Edward III. Henry IV. James I. and other princes. Charles II. indeed, obtained a verdict of this nature in the court of common pleas, but it was founded upon a frivolous pretence. This tribunal had the confidence to declare, *That the prince had authority to prevent his subjects from bolding commerce with infidels, lest the purity of their faith should be contaminated.*

THOUGH the parties above-mentioned were actuated by private, and even opposite views, they all united in the plan of making the trade free, or at least of procuring the reversal of the company's charter. The nation, in general, were on their side : but the body that was attacked, defended itself by it's partisans, the ministry, and all the dependents of the court, who made this a common cause. Each party had recourse to libels, in-

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trigue and corruption. These contending passions produced one of those storms, the violence of which can hardly be felt any where but in England. The several factions, sects, and interests maintained a furious combat; in which they all mingled without distinction of rank, age, or sex. Such a spirit of enthusiasm had never been raised by the greatest events. To keep up the zeal of their friends, the company offered to lend large sums on condition of obtaining their charter. Their adversaries made offers still more considerable to get it revoked.

THE two houses of parliament, before whom this cause was hear'd, declared in favour of the private merchants. They obtained leave to carry on trade to India, either separately or in concert. They entered into an association, and formed a new company. The old one had permission to continue it's voyages till the expiration of their charter, which was very near at hand. Thus England had two East India companies at the same time authorised by parliament, instead of one established by royal authority.

THESE two bodies shewed as much zeal for the destruction of each other, as they had shew'n for their respective establishment. They had both experienced the advantages of trade; and viewed each other with all the jealousy and hatred, which ambition and avarice never fail to inspire. Their dissensions soon broke out with considerable violence in Europe, but chiefly in India. At last, the two societies made advances towards a reconciliation, and united their funds in 1702. From this period

period the affairs of the company were carried on BOOK
III. with greater propriety, prudence, and dignity. The principles of commerce, which were every day better understood in England, had a good effect on their administration, as far as the interests of their monopoly could allow. They made improvements in their former settlements, and formed new ones. They endeavoured to indemnify themselves for the profits they were deprived of by a strong competition, by procuring a larger sale for their commodities. Their charter was less violently attacked, since it had received the sanction of the laws, and obtained the protection of parliament.

THEIR prosperity was interrupted by some transient misfortunes. In 1702 the English had formed a settlement in the island of Pulocondor, which was dependant on Cochin-China. Their design was to take a share in the commerce of this rich kingdom, which, till then, had been too much neglected. An instance of excessive severity had given disgust to sixteen soldiers of Macassar, who were part of the garrison. On the 3d of March 1705, they set fire in the night to the houses belonging to the fort, and massacred the Europeans as they came out to extinguish it. Thirty out of forty-five lost their lives in this manner; the rest were massacred by the natives, who were exasperated at the insolence of these strangers. By this accident the company lost the money their enterprise had cost them, together with the stock of their factories and the prospects they had entertained.

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SEVERAL of their factories were threatened with other storms; which had been collected by the turbulent spirit and avarice of their agents. A more moderate system of politics made them forego some odious claims, and tranquillity was soon restored. It was not long before objects of more important concern engaged their attention.

War between the
English and
French.

ENGLAND and France entered into a war in 1744. The whole world became the scene of their divisions. In India, as well as in other places, each nation sustained it's character. The English, ever animated with the spirit of commerce, attacked and ruined that of their enemies. The French, adhering to their passion for conquest, seized upon the principal settlement belonging to their rival. The event shewed which of the two nations had acted with the greatest prudence. That which attended only to it's own aggrandizement, sank into a total inactivity; while the other, though deprived of the centre of it's power, carried it's enterprizes to a greater extent.

A CESSATION of hostilities between the two divided nations had no sooner taken place, than they engaged themselves as auxiliaries, in the quarrels of the Indian princes. Soon after they again took arms on their own account. Before the end of this war, the French were driven out of the continent and seas of Asia. At the conclusion of the peace in 1763, the English company found themselves in possession of the power, in Arabia, in the Persian Gulph, on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and at Bengal.

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ALL these countries differ from each other in the climate, the manners, the soil, the productions, the spirit of industry, and the mode of selling and purchasing. They ought to be accurately and thoroughly know'n. We will give a short sketch of them. This description will be found to have a particular connection with the history of a nation, which has obtained a remarkable influence in those countries, and derives from thence the greatest advantages.

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ARABIA is one of the largest peninsulas in the know'n world. It is bounded on the south by the Indian Ocean; by the Gulph of Persia on the east; and on the west by the Red Sea, which separates it from Africa; on the north, a line drawn at the extremity of the two gulphs, probably marked out it's boundary in antient times. Irac-Arabi, the desert of Syria, and Palestine seem at present to make a part of it.

Description
of Arabia.
Revolutions
it has experienced.
Character
of it's inhabitants.

THE peninsula is divided, from north to south, by a chain of mountains, less barren, and more temperate than the rest of the country. The rain falls upon most of them for two or three months, at least, in the year, but at different seasons, according to their exposition. The waters that descend from them are lost among the sands in the valleys, or pour down in torrents into the sea, in proportion to the slope and distances. In one season, the heat is so violent, that no person travels, and that even the slaves do not appear in the streets, without an urgent necessity. Every kind of labour is then suspended in the middle of the day. The greatest part of the time is passed

passed in sleeping in subterranean caverns, the air of which is renewed only by a tube.

THIS country is usually divided into three parts; Arabia Petræa, Arabia Deserta, and Arabia Felix, names which denote the nature of the soil in each of these countries.

ARABIA PETRÆA is the most western, and the smallest of the three. It is for the most part uncultivated, and almost totally covered with rocks. In Arabia Deserta, nothing is to be seen but dry plains, heaps of sand raised and dissipated by the wind, and steep mountains never embellished with verdure. Springs are so rarely found there, that the possession of them is always disputed with the sword. Arabia Felix owes it's specious appellation less to it's fertility, than to it's vicinity to the barren countries that surround it. These different regions enjoy a sky constantly pure and serene.

ALL histories agree that this country was peopled at a most early period of antiquity. It's first inhabitants came probably from Syria and Chaldea. It is not know'n at what period they began to be civilized; whether their knowledge was derived from India, or whether they acquired it themselves. It appears that their religion was Sabeism, even before they were acquainted with the people of Upper Asia. They had conceived sublime ideas of the divinity at an early period; they worshipped the stars as bodies animated by celestial spirits: their religion was neither cruel nor absurd; and though they were liable to those fallies of enthusiasm so common among the

southern nations, they do not seem to have been tainted with fanaticism till the time of Mohammed. The inhabitants of Arabia Deserta professed a less rational kind of worship. Many of them worshipped, and some offered human sacrifices to the sun. It is a truth that may be collected from the study of history, and the inspection of the globe, that the religious systems in barren countries, subject to inundations and volcanos, have ever had a tincture of cruelty, and have always been of a milder cast in countries more favoured by nature. They take their character from the climate where they are formed.

WHEN Mohammed had established a new religion in his country, it was no difficult task to infuse a spirit of zeal into his followers; and this zeal made them conquerors. They extended their dominion from the western seas to those of China, and from the Canaries to the Molucca islands. They also carried along with them the useful arts, which they improved. The Arabians did not equally succeed in the fine arts; they shewed, indeed, some genius for them, but had not the least idea of that taste with which nature some time after inspired the people who became their disciples.

PERHAPS genius, which is the offspring of a creative imagination, flourishes in hot countries, which abound with a variety of productions, grand scenes, and surprising events that excite enthusiasm; while taste, which selects and reaps the produce of the fields that genius has sown, seems rather to belong to people of a sedate, mild,

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mild, and moderate disposition, who live under the influence of a temperate sky. Perhaps too, this same taste, which is the effect of reason refined and matured by time, requires a degree of stability in the government, united with a certain freedom of thinking, a gradual improvement of knowledge, which, affording a greater scope to genius, enables it to discern more exactly the relation one object has to another, and to combine with happier art those mixed sensations which give the highest entertainment to men of elegant minds. Accordingly, the Arabians, who were almost constantly forced into regions disturbed with war and fanaticism, never enjoyed that temperature of government and climate which gives birth to taste. But they introduced into the countries they conquered, sciences which they had pillaged, as it were, in the course of their ravages, and all the arts essential to the prosperity of nations.

No nation at that time understood commerce so well, or carried it to a greater extent. They attended to it even in the course of their conquests. Their merchants, manufactures, and staples, extended from Spain to Tonquin; and other people, at least those in the western part of the world, were indebted to them for arts and sciences, and all articles conducive to the convenience, the preservation, and the pleasures of life.

WHEN the power of the Caliphs began to decline, the Arabians, after the example of several nations they had subdued, threw off the yoke of these

these princes, and the country re-assumed by degrees it's ancient form of government, as well as it's primitive manners. At this æra, the nation being, as formerly, divided into tribes, under the conduct of different chiefs, returned to their original character, from which fanaticism and ambition had made them depart.

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THE stature of the Arabians is low, their bodies lean, and their voice slender ; but they have robust constitutions, brown hair, a swarthy complexion, black sparkling eyes, a witty, but seldom an agreeable, countenance. This contrasted mixture of features and qualities, which seem incompatible, appear to have been united in this race of men, to constitute a singular nation, whose figure and character partake strongly of that of the Turks, Africans, and Persians, by whom they are surrounded. Grave and serious, they consider their long beards as marks of dignity ; they speak little, use no gesture, make no pauses, nor interrupt one another in their conversation. They pique themselves on observing the strictest probity towards each other, which is the effect of that self-love, and that spirit of patriotism, which, united together, make any nation, clan, or society, esteem and prefer themselves to the rest of the world. The more carefully they preserve their phlegmatic character, so much the more formidable is their resentment when once it is raised. These people have abilities, and even a genius for the sciences ; yet they cultivate them but little, either from want of assistance, or because they have no occasion for them :
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choosing rather, no doubt, to suffer natural evils, than the inconvenience of labour. The Arabians of our days, display no monument of genius, no productions of industry, which intitle them to hold any rank in the history of the human mind.

THEIR ruling passion is jealousy ; that torment of impetuous, weak, and indolent minds. It might naturally be asked, whether this distrust were owen to the high or contemptible opinion they entertained of themselves? It is said to be from the Arabians that several nations of Asia, Africa, and even Europe itself, have borrowed those despicable precautions this odious passion prescribes against a sex, which ought to be the guardian, not the slave of our pleasures. As soon as a daughter is born, they unite by a kind of future those parts which nature has separated, leaving just space enough for the natural discharges. As the child grows, the parts by degrees adhere so closely, that when they become marriageable they are obliged to be separated by an incision. Sometimes it is thought sufficient to make use of a ring. The married, as well as the unmarried women, are subjected to this outrage on the virtue of the sex ; with this difference only, that the ring wor'n by the young women cannot be taken off, whereas that of the married women has a kind of padlock, of which the husband keeps the key. This custom, which is know'n in all parts of Arabia, is almost universally adopted in that part which bears the name of Petræa.

SUCH

SUCH are the manners of the nation in general. The different mode of living among the people who compose it, must necessarily have introduced some peculiarities of character that are worth observing.

THE number of Arabians who inhabit the desert may amount to two millions. They are distributed into several clans, some of which are more populous and considerable than others, but all independent of each other. Their government is simple: an hereditary chief, assisted by a few old men, determines all debates, and punishes the offenders. If he be hospitable, humane, and just, they adore him; if haughty, cruel, and avaricious, they assassinate him, and appoint a successor out of his own family.

THESE people encamp at all seasons of the year. They have no settled abode, and fix at different places where they can be supplied with water, fruits, and pasture. They find an infinite charm in this wandering life, and consider the sedentary Arabs in the light of slaves. They live upon the milk and flesh of their herds. Their clothes, tents, cordage, and the carpets they sleep upon, are all made of the wool of their sheep, and the hair of their goats and camels. This is the employment of the women in each family; and there is not a single artist in the whole desert. What they consume in tobacco, coffee, rice, and dates, is purchased with the butter they carry to the frontiers, and by the money arising from the annual sale of more than twenty thousand camels. These animals, so useful in the east, were formerly

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ly carried to Syria. Most of them are now sent to Persia, the perpetual wars there having occasioned an extraordinary demand for them, and diminished their species.

THESE articles not being sufficient to supply the Arabs with what they want, they have contrived to raise a contribution on the caravans, which superstition leads to travel through their sandy regions. The most numerous of these, which goes from Damascus to Mecca, procures a safe passage by a tribute of a hundred purses, or a hundred and fifty thousand livres*, to which the Grand Signior is subjected, and which, by ancient agreement, is distributed among all the hords. The other caravans make similar terms with the hords, through whose territories they are obliged to pass.

INDEPENDENT of this resource, the Arabs inhabiting the most northern part of the desert, have had recourse to plunder. These people, so humane, faithful, and disinterested towards each other, are savage and rapacious in their transactions with foreigners. While they preserve in their tents the character of beneficent and generous hosts, they commit continual depredations in the towns and villages of their neighbourhood. They are good fathers, good husbands, and good masters; but all are enemies who do not belong to their family. They frequently carry their incursions to a great distance; and Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, are not uncommonly the scenes of their depredations.

* 6,250l.

THE Arabs, who devote themselves to plunder, form a sort of society with the camels, to carry on trade or war, where the man is to have all the profit, and the animal the principal fatigue. As these two beings are to live together, they are brought up with a view to each other. The Arab trains his camel from it's birth, to all the exercises and hardships it is to undergo during the whole course of it's life. He accustoms it to labour hard, and to eat little. The animal is early inured to pass it's days without drinking, and it's nights without sleep. He teaches it to draw up it's legs under it's belly, while it suffers itself to be laden with burdens, that are insensibly increased as it's strength is improved by age, and by the habit of bearing fatigue. In this singular plan of education, which princes sometimes adopt the more easily to tame their subjects, in proportion as the labour of the animal is doubled, it's subsistence is diminished. The Arabians qualify the camels for expedition, by matches, in which the horse runs against him. The camel, less active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long course. When the master and the camel are ready and equipped for plunder, they set out together, traverse the sandy deserts, and lie in ambush upon the confines to rob the merchant or traveller. The man ravages, massacres, and seizes the prey: and the camel carries the booty. If these adventurers are pursued, they make a precipitate retreat. The master robber mounts his favourite camel, drives the whole troop before him, travels three hundred leagues in eight days

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without unloading his camels, or allowing them more than an hour each day for rest, or a cake of dough for their subsistence. They sometimes remain the whole time without drinking, unless they happen to smell out a spring at a little distance from the road, when they redouble their pace, run to the water with eagerness, which makes them take at one draught as much as is sufficient to quench their present thirst, and serve them to the end of their journey. Such is the animal so often celebrated in the Bible, the Coran, and the eastern romances.

THE Arabs, who live in districts that afford some slender pasture, and where the soil is proper for barley, breed the finest horses in the world. These horses are sent into all parts to improve and multiply the breed of these animals, which are every where inferior in swiftness, beauty, and sagacity, to those of Arabia. Their owners live with them as with domestics, on whose service and affection they can rely : and it happens with them as with all other wandering people, those, in particular, who treat animals with kindness, that both the men and the animals partake, in some measure, of each other's manners and disposition. These Arabs are simple, mild, and docile : and the different religions that have prevailed in these countries, and the several governments of which they have been the subjects or tributaries, have produced very little alteration in the character they derive from climate or from habit.

THE Arabs settled near the Indian and the Red Sea, and those who inhabit Arabia Felix, were
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formerly

formerly a mild people, fond of liberty, and content with a state of independence, without dreaming of conquest. They were too much prejudiced in favour of the beauty of their sky, and of the soil that supplied their wants almost without culture, to be tempted to extend their dominion over different countries lying in another climate. Mohammed changed their ideas: but they retain no traces of the impressions he communicated to them. They pass their time in smoking, taking coffee, opium, and sherbet; or in burning exquisite perfumes, the smoke of which they receive in their clothes, which are slightly sprinkled with rose water. These gratifications are often preceded or followed by singing gallant, or amorous verses.

THEIR compositions, both in point of expression and sentiment, have a degree of grace, softness, and refinement, far beyond any thing we find amongst any other people, antient or modern. The language they speak in this world to their mistresses, seems as if it were the same as that which they will speak to their houris in the other. It is a kind of musick so moving and so fine; a murmur so soft, comparisons so agreeable and blooming, that one would almost say, their poetry was perfumed as their climate. The imitations of nature in the Arabian poems, are of the same kind as the expressions of honour among our antient knights. The latter is the quintessence of virtue, the former of voluptuousness. They are described as exhausted by the ardour of their passion, and of the climate, and having scarce the power to breathe. They give them-

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General
trade with
Arabia, and
that of the
English in
particular.

themselves up, without reserve, to this delicious languor, which, perhaps, they would not experience under any other sky.

BEFORE the Portuguese had intercepted the navigation of the Red Sea, the Arabs had more activity. They were the factors of all the trade that passed through this channel. Aden, which is situated at the most southern extremity of Arabia upon the Indian ocean, was the staple of this trade. The situation of its harbour, which opened an easy communication with Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Persia, had rendered it, for many ages, one of the most flourishing factories in Asia. Fifteen years after it had repulsed the great Albuquerque, who attempted to demolish it in 1513, it submitted to the Turks, who did not long remain masters of it. The king of Yemen, who possessed the only district in Arabia that merits the title of Happy, drove them from thence, and removed the trade to Mocha, a place in his dominions, which till then was only a village.

THIS trade was at first inconsiderable; consisting principally in myrrh, incense, aloes, balm of Mecca, some aromatics and medicinal drugs. These articles, the exportation of which is continually retarded by exorbitant imposts, and does not exceed at present seven or eight hundred thousand livres*, were at that time more in repute than they have been since; but must have been always of little consequence. Soon after a great change ensued from the introduction of coffee.

* Upon an average 30,000*l*.

THE coffee-tree is originally a native of Upper Ethiopia, where it has been known time immemorial, and is still cultivated with success. M. Lagrenée de Mezieres, one of the most intelligent agents that France ever had in the India service, had some of the fruit in his possession, and has often made use of it. He found it to be larger, rather longer, not so green, and almost as fragrant as that which was first gathered in Arabia towards the close of the fifteenth century.

It is commonly believed, that a Mollach, named Chadely, was the first among the Arabs who made use of coffee, to relieve himself from a continual drowsiness which hindered him from attending punctually to his nocturnal devotions. His dervises did the same; and their example was followed by the lawyers. It was soon found out, that this liquor purified the blood by a gentle agitation, dissipated the crudities of the stomach, and raised the spirits; and it was adopted even by those who had no occasion to keep themselves awake. It passed from the borders of the Red Sea to Medina and Mecca, and was introduced by the pilgrims into all the Mohammedan countries.

IN these countries, where there is less freedom of manners than in our's, where the jealousy of the men, and the close confinement of the women, make society less lively, it was thought proper to encourage public coffee-houses. Those in Persia soon became infamous, where young Georgian women, dressed like courtezans, acted obscene plays, and prostituted themselves for hire. When

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these offensive irregularities were suppressed by order of the court, these houses became places of decent resort for the indolent, and of relaxation for men of business. The politicians entertained themselves with news, the poets recited their verses, and the Mollachs delivered their sermons there, which were usually rewarded with some charitable donations.

AFFAIRS were not in the same peaceable state at Constantinople. The coffee-houses were no sooner opened than they were frequented to excess. People spent their whole time in them. The grand Mufti, exasperated to see the Mosques abandoned, pronounced that the infusion of this plant was included in that law of Mohammed, which forbade the use of strong liquors. Government, which frequently aids the superstition of which it is sometimes the dupe, gave immediate orders that the houses which had given such offence to the priests, should be shut up; and enjoined the officers of police to put a stop to the use of this liquor in private families. The strong inclination they had for it still prevailed over all these severe regulations. Coffee continued to be drunk, and even the places where it was to be had, soon grew more numerous than ever.

UPON this occasion I should be much inclined to say to sovereigns; if you are desirous that your laws should be observed, take care that they never should be made in opposition to nature. I should say to priests: let not your morality proscribe innocent pleasures. You may both of you threaten and thunder as much as you will; you may
shew

shew us your dungeons open, or hell under our feet: BOOK
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 but you will never stifle in me the desire of being happy. I will be happy, is the first article of a code, anterior to every system of legislation or morality.

IN the middle of the last century, Kuproli, the Grand Vizier, went in disguise to the principal coffee-houses in Constantinople. He there found a number of mal-contents, who, thinking the affairs of government were in reality the concern of every private person, spoke of them with warmth, and arraigned with great boldness the conduct of the generals and ministers. He then visited the taverns, where wine was sold. They were full of plain people, chiefly soldiers, who, accustomed to consider the interests of the state as those of the prince for whom they entertained a silent veneration, sang lively songs, talked of their amours, and warlike exploits. These last societies, which are attended with no inconveniencies, he thought ought to be tolerated: but the first he considered as dangerous under an absolute government. He had not sufficiently considered this matter, to convince himself, that they were not more calculated to raise apprehensions than the others. Even in a despotic state, the people who are oppressed must be left at liberty to complain, for it is a relief to them. That sort of discontent which evaporates itself is not the one to be feared. Rebellions arise from that spirit of dissatisfaction, which, being concealed, is worked up by internal fermentation, and breaks out in the most speedy and terrible effects. Woe to those sovereigns, whose

E 4 oppressions

oppressions are continually increasing, till the murmurs of the people cease.

HOWEVER this may be, the regulation which was confined to the capital of the empire, has not discouraged the use of coffee, and has, perhaps, increased the consumption of it. It is publicly offered to sale in all the streets and markets ready made, and is drunk in every family at least twice a-day. In some, it is always ready, it being the custom to offer it to all visitors, and reckoned equally unpolite not to offer it, or to refuse it.

AT the same time that coffee-houses were shut in Constantinople, they were opened in London. This novelty was introduced there in 1652 by a merchant of the name of Edward, on his return from the Levant. The English grew fond of it; and it has since been introduced among all the nations of Europe; but the custom is pursued with more moderation, than in those climates where religion prohibits the use of wine.

THE tree that produces the coffee grows in the territory of Betelsagui, a town belonging to Yemen, situated upon a dry sand, at the distance of ten leagues from the Red Sea. It is cultivated in a district fifty leagues long, and fifteen or twenty broad: the fruit is not every where in equal perfection. That which grows upon the higher grounds, particularly at Ouden, is smaller, greener, weighs heavier, and is generally preferred.

IT is computed that Arabia contains twelve millions of inhabitants, among the greatest part of whom coffee is a highly favourite liquor. None

but

but the rich citizens have the pleasure of tasting the berry itself. The common people are obliged to content themselves with the shell and the husk of this valuable production. These remains, so much despised, make a liquor of a pretty clear colour, which has the taste of coffee without it's bitterness and strength. These articles may be had at a low price at Betelfagui, which is the general market for them. Here likewise is sold all the coffee which comes out of the country by land. The rest is carried to Mocha, which is thirty-five leagues distant, or to the nearer ports of Lohia or Hodeida, from whence it is transported in small vessels to Jodda. The Egyptians fetch it from the last mentioned place, and all other nations from the former.

THE quantity of coffee exported may be estimated from twelve to thirteen millions weight. The European companies take off a million and a half; the Persians three millions and a half; the fleet from Suez six millions and a half; Indostan, the Maldives, and the Arabian colonies on the coast of Africa, fifty thousand; and the land caravans a million.

As the coffee which is bought up by the caravans and the Europeans, is the best that can be procured, it costs from sixteen to seventeen sols * a pound. The Persians, who content themselves with that of an inferior quality, pay no more than twelve or thirteen sols † a pound. The Egyptians purchase it at the rate of fifteen or sixteen ‡; their

* About 8d. $\frac{1}{2}$.† About 6d. $\frac{1}{2}$.

‡ About 8d.

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cargoes being composed partly of good and partly of bad coffee. If we estimate coffee at fourteen sols * a pound, which is the mean price, the profits accruing to Arabia from it's annual exportation will amount to eight or nine millions of livres †. This money does not go into their coffers ; but it enables them to purchase the commodities brought from the foreign markets to their ports of Jodda and Mocha.

MOCHA receives from Abyssinia, sheep, elephant's teeth, musk, and slaves. It is supplied from the eastern coast of Africa with gold, slaves, amber, and ivory ; from the Persian Gulph with dates, tobacco, and corn ; from Surat with a vast quantity of coarse, and a few fine linens ; from Bombay and Pondicherry with iron, lead, copper, which are carried thither from Europe ; from Malabar with rice, ginger, pepper, Indian saffron, with caire, timber, and cardamom ; from the Maldives with gum benzoin, aloes-wood, and pepper, which these islands take in exchange ; from Coromandel, with four or five hundred bales of cottons, chiefly blue. The greatest part of these commodities, which may fetch six millions ‡, are consumed in the interior part of the country. The rest, particularly the cottons, are disposed of in Abyssinia, Socotora, and the eastern coast of Africa.

NONE of the branches of business which are managed at Mocha, as well as throughout all the country of Yemen, or even at Sanaa, the capital,

* About 7 d. † From upwards of 300,000 l. to 375,000 l.
‡ 250,000 l.

are

are in the hands of the natives. The extortions with which they are perpetually threatened by the government, deter them from interfering in them. All the warehouses are occupied by the Banians of Surat or Guzarat, who make a point of returning to their own country as soon as they have made their fortunes. They then resign their settlements to merchants of their own nation, who retire in their turn, and are succeeded by others.

THERE is no country where the price of every thing is not know'n, except that of man. The most civilized nations have not yet acquired that knowledge. Witness that multitude of capital punishments inflicted in all parts for offences, even of a trivial kind. It is not probable that those nations, which condemn to death a young woman of eighteen years of age, who might be the mother of five or six children, or a healthy and vigorous young man of thirty, for having stolen a little piece of silver, should have sufficiently meditated upon those tables of the probabilities of human life which they have so learnedly calculated; since they seem to be ignorant how many individuals are sacrificed by nature, before the life of one is prolonged to that period. Thus, without being conscious of it, we repair a little injury done to society, by a greater. By the severity of the punishment, we drive the culprit on from theft to assassination. What! is the hand, then, that has burst open the lock of your coffers, or that has even plunged a poniard into the breast of a citizen, fit for nothing but to be cut off? Because a dishonest, or an indigent debtor, cannot

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not discharge his debts, he is to be rendered totally useless to society, and reduced to the impossibility of being ever able to pay you, by being confined in a prison? Would it not be better for the public interest, and for your's, that he should make some use of his industry and his talents, provided you be empowered by the action you have legally brought against him, to follow him every where, and to seize such a portion of his profit, as shall be adjudged to you by some wise regulation? But he will quit the country! Of what consequence is it to you, whether he be in England or in prison? Will you not be equally a loser of your money? If there were mutual compacts settled between the nations, the delinquent would not find an asylum any where. If you enlarge your views a little, you will conceive that the debtor who escapes from you by flight, cannot possibly make his fortune in a foreign country, without paying a part of his debts, from the necessities he is obliged to supply himself with, and from the reciprocal exchanges subsisting between nations. It is with the wines of France that he will intoxicate himself at London; or with the silks of Lyons that his wife will be clothed at Cadiz or Lisbon. But these speculations are too abstract and patriotic for a cruel creditor, who, tormented with the spirit of avarice and resentment, would rather keep his unfortunate debtor in chains, lying upon straw, and feed him there with bread and water, than restore him to his liberty. But these views ought not to have escaped the notice of governments and of legislators;

tors; and it is they who are to be censured for all the barbarous absurdities still subsisting upon this matter in our nations that pretend to be civilized. BOOK
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THE European companies, who enjoy the exclusive privilege of trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope, formerly maintained agents at Mocha. Notwithstanding it was stipulated by a solemn capitulation, that the imposts demanded should be rated at two and a quarter per cent: they were subject to frequent extortions: the governor of the place insisting on their making him presents, which enabled him to purchase the favour of the courtiers, or even of the prince himself. However, the profits they obtained by the sale of European goods, particularly cloths, made them submit to these repeated humiliations. When these several articles were furnished by Grand Cairo, it was then impossible to withstand the competition, and the fixed settlements were therefore given up.

THE trade was carried on by ships, that sailed from Europe with iron, lead, copper, and silver, sufficient to pay for the coffee they intended to buy. The supercargoes, who had the care of these transactions, settled the accounts every time they returned. These voyages, at first rather numerous and advantageous, have been successively laid aside. The plantations of coffee, made by the European nations in their colonies, have equally lessened the consumption and the price of that which comes from Arabia. In process of time, these voyages did not yield a sufficient profit
to

B O O K to answer the high charges of undertaking them
 III. on purpose. The companies of England and France then resolved, one of them to send ships from Bombay, and the other from Pondicherry to Mocha, with the merchandize of Europe and India. They even frequently had recourse to a method that was less expensive. The English and French who traffic from one part of India to another, visit the Red Sea every year. Though they dispose of their merchandize there to good advantage, they can never take in cargoes from thence for their return. They carry, for a moderate freight, the coffee belonging to the companies who lade the vessels with it, which they dispatch from Malabar and Coromandel to Europe. The Dutch company, who prohibit their servants from fitting out ships, and who send no vessels themselves to the Gulph of Arabia, are deprived of the share they might take in this branch of commerce. They have also given up a much more lucrative branch, that of Jodda.

JODDA is a port situated near the middle of the Gulph of Arabia, twenty leagues from Mecca. It is a safe harbour, but the access to it is difficult. The purposes of trade have brought nine or ten thousand inhabitants there, who most of them dwell in huts, and who are all condemned to breathe an infected air, and to drink brackish water. The government is of a mixed kind: the Xeriff of Mecca, and the Grand Signior, who keeps a feeble and useless garrison there, share the authority and the revenue of the customs between them. These imposts are levied upon the Europeans.

Europeans at the rate of eight per cent. and upon other nations at thirteen. They are always paid in merchandize, which the managers oblige the merchants of the country to buy at a very dear rate. The Turks, who have been driven from Aden, Mocha, and every part of the Yemen, would long ago have been expelled from Jodda, if there had not been reason to apprehend that they might revenge themselves in such a manner as to put an end to their pilgrimages and commerce.

SURAT sends three ships every year to Jodda, which are laden with linens of all colours, shawls, cotton and silk stuffs, frequently ornamented with gold and silver flowers. The sale of these goods produces nine or ten millions of livres*. Bengal dispatches two, and more frequently three, ships for the same destination; and their cargoes, which belong to the English, may be one third less in value than those of Surat. They consist of rice, ginger, saffron, sugar, a few silks, and a considerable quantity of linens, which are for the most part ordinary. These vessels, which may enter the Red Sea from the beginning of December till the end of May, find the fleet of Suez at Jodda.

This city, which is supposed to be built upon the ruins of the ancient Arsinoe, is situated at the extremity of the Red Sea, and at the distance only of two or three days journey from Grand Cairo. It's inhabitants are partly Egyptians and partly

* From 375,000l. to 416,666l. 13s. 4d.

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Arabs. They are so little fond of living in the place, which is unwholesome, and unprovided with drinkable water, that those among them who enjoy an easy fortune, or can meet with employment any where else, are never there but at the times of the setting out and return of the ships, both which events are regulated by periodical and invariable winds. Twenty vessels, resembling in shape those of the Dutch, but ill built, badly fitted out, and improperly commanded, are dispatched every year to Jodda. Their cargo consists chiefly of provisions, but with this difference, that the five belonging to the Grand Signior deliver their's gratuitously at Medina and Mecca, while the others commonly sell their cargoes at a very advantageous price. They carry also Venetian glass, coral, and yellow amber, of which the Indians make necklaces and bracelets.

In exchange for their provisions, their merchandise, and especially their gold, they receive six or seven millions weight of coffee; and in linens, stuffs and spices, to the value of seven or eight millions of livres*. Such is the ignorance and laziness of these navigators, that the whole of these rich articles never reaches the place of their destination. A considerable part of them is habitually swallowed up by the waves, notwithstanding the care that is taken always to cast anchor at the beginning of the night.

THE trade of the Red Sea would become more extensive, and less exposed to risks, if a revolu-

* From 291,666 l. 13 s. 4 d. to 333,333 l. 6 s. 8 d.

tion which it has lately experienced should be attended with the consequences that seem to be expected from it. BOOK
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By a treaty concluded on the 7th March 1775, between the first of the Beys, and Mr. Hastings the British Governor of Bengal, the English, settled in India, are allowed to introduce and circulate, in the interior part of Egypt, all the merchandise they choose, on paying six and a half per cent. for those goods that come from the Ganges and Madras, and eight per cent. for those which have been laden at Bombay and Surat. This convention has already been carried into execution, and the success has answered beyond expectation. If the Ottoman Court and the Arabs do not interrupt this new communication; if the port of Suez, now almost choaked up with the sands, were repaired; if the seditions which are incessantly disturbing the banks of the Nile, could at length be put a stop to; we might, perhaps, see the intercourse between Europe and Asia carried on wholly, or in part, through the ancient channel.

THE merchandise brought from Surat and Bengal, which the Egyptian fleet does not take off, is partly consumed in the country, and bought in great quantities by the caravans, which go every year to Mecca.

THE Arabs had ever entertained an affection for this city. They supposed it to have been the residence of Abraham, and they flocked from all parts to a temple, of which they believed he was the founder. Mohammed, who was a man of too

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much understanding to attempt to abolish a devotion so generally established, contented himself with rectifying the object of it. He banished the idols from this revered place, and dedicated it to the unity of God. Mohammed was not the messenger of heaven ; but he was an acute politician, and a great conqueror. To promote the concourse of strangers to a city which he intended to make the capital of his empire, he commanded that all who embraced his law should once in their lives undertake a pilgrimage thither, on pain of dying reprobates. This precept was accompanied with another, which makes it evident, that he was not guided by superstition alone. He ordered that every pilgrim, of whatever country he was, should purchase five pieces of cotton, and get them consecrated, and made into handkerchiefs for himself, and for all the persons belonging to his family who might be prevented by reasonable impediments from undertaking this holy expedition.

THIS policy might naturally be expected to make Arabia the center of a prodigious trade, when the number of pilgrims should amount to several millions. This zeal is so much abated, especially on the coast of Africa, in Indostan and Persia, in proportion to the respective distances of those places from Mecca, that the number is reduced to a hundred and fifty thousand ; the majority of whom are Turks. They carry away with them seven hundred and fifty thousand pieces of linen ; each ten ells in length, exclusive of those which many of them buy for sale. They are encouraged in these mercantile schemes by the advantages they

they have in crossing the deserts, and in not being exposed to those oppressive tolls which are so destructive in the sea-ports of Suez and Bassora. The money received from these pilgrims and from the fleet, as well as that which the Arabs get from the sale of their coffee, is expended in India. The vessels from Surat, Malabar, Coromandel, and Bengal, annually carry away to the amount of fourteen or fifteen millions of livres*, and about the eighth part of this sum in merchandise. When these riches are divided among the trading nations of Europe, the English contrive to appropriate to themselves the most considerable share of them. They have acquired the same superiority in Persia.

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THE English nation had scarce been admitted into the empire of the Sophis, when, as we have observed, the Dutch resorted there in great numbers. The trade of these republicans was at first established on a very disadvantageous footing; but being, by the civil wars of England, soon delivered from a rival, whose various privileges were not to be overbalanced even by the greatest œconomy, they were in a short time without competitors, and consequently acquired an authority to set what price they thought proper on the commodities they bought or sold. The connections of the Persians with the Dutch were formed on this destructive system; when the return of the English, who were soon after followed by the French, gave a new turn to affairs, and put them upon a more equitable footing.

Revolutions
which trade
has experi-
enced in the
Persian
Gulph.

* From 583,333l. 6s. 8d. to 625,000l.

At the time when the three nations exerted their utmost efforts to gain the superiority, and these efforts turned to the advantage of the empire, they were harassed with a thousand oppressions, some more unjust and odious than others. The throne was continually filled with tyrannical or weak princes, whose cruelty and injustice weakened the correspondence of their subjects with other nations. One of these tyrants was so savage, that a great man of his court used to say, *That whenever he came out of the king's closet, he clapped both his hands to his head, to feel whether it were still upon his shoulders.* When the successor of this tyrant was told that the finest provinces in the empire were invaded by the Turks, he answered coolly, *That their progress gave him very little disturbance, provided they would leave him the city of Ispahan.* The son of the latter was so meanly enslaved to the most frivolous observances of his religion, that he was stiled, by way of derision, *Hussien the monk, or priest*: a character less odious, perhaps, in a prince, but much more dangerous to his people, than that of impiety, or defiance of the gods. Under these despicable sovereigns, mercantile affairs declined every day more and more. The Afghans destroyed them entirely.

THESE are a people of Candahar, a mountainous country, lying north of India. They have sometimes been subject to the Moguls, sometimes to the Persians, but are more frequently independent. Those that do not reside in the capital live in tents, after the manner of the Tartars. They are of low stature, and ill made; but are strong, robust,

robust, skilled in the use of the bow, and in horsemanship, and inured to fatigue. Their manner of fighting is singular; a chosen band of soldiers, divided into two parties, fall upon the enemy without any order, only endeavouring to open the way for the army that follows them. As soon as the battle is begun, they fall back upon the flanks and towards the rear-guard, where their business is to prevent any person from giving way. If any soldier attempts to fly, they attack him with their sabres, and compel him to return to his post.

ABOUT the beginning of this century, this fierce people left their mountains, invaded Persia, carried devastation every where, and at length subdued it, after a bloody contest of twenty years. Fanaticism still perpetuates, and perhaps even expiates, the memory of the horrid outrages which they committed in the course of their conquest. For such is the nature of religious enthusiasm, that it sanctifies the crime it inspires, and that this crime expiates the others we have been guilty of. The fanatic says to God, It is true, O Lord! that I have administered poison; that I have murdered, and that I have robbed; but thou wilt pardon me, for with my own hands I have exterminated fifty of thine enemies. Inflamed with zeal for the superstitions of the Turks, and with implacable hatred against the sect of Ali, the Afghans massacre thousands of Persians in cold blood. In the mean time, the provinces they had not entered, were ravaged by the Russians, Turks, and Tartars. Thamas Kouli Khan

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drove these robbers out of this country, but shewed himself still more barbarous than they were. His violent death gave rise to new calamities. Anarchy aggravates the cruelties of tyranny. One of the finest empires in the world is become an extensive scene of desolation, and a lasting and shameful monument of that destructive instinct that animates uncivilized people, while, at the same time, it is an inevitable consequence of the defects of a despotic government.

DURING this general confusion, Bender-Abassi, and the other bad ports of Persia, were neglected. The little share of trade that still subsisted, was almost all conveyed to Bassora.

THIS is a large city, built by the Arabs in the height of their prosperity, fifteen leagues below the place where the Tigris and Euphrates meet, and at the same distance from the Persian Gulph, into which these rivers empty themselves. It's inhabitants are computed at fifty thousand; consisting of Arabs, fifteen hundred Armenians, and a small number of families of different nations whom the hope of gain has attracted. It's territory abounds in rice, fruits, pulse, cotton, and particularly in dates.

THE port of Bassora, as those who first established it foresaw, became a famous mart. The merchandise of Europe was brought there by the Euphrates, and that of India by sea. The tyranny of the Portuguese intercepted this communication. It would have been opened again when their power declined, had not this unhappy country continually been the scene of the disputes.

putes between the Arabs, the Persians, and the ^{B O O R} Turks. These last, become peaceful possessors ^{III.} of Bassora, have availed themselves of the misfortunes of their neighbours, to bring trade back to this city; the harbour of which has recovered it's splendour and importance.

THIS change has not been effected without difficulty. At first, the people of the country would not permit the traders to come out of the river. They foresaw, that if these foreigners were permitted to settle in the city, they would not be so much under their direction, and might lay up in their magazines such of their commodities as they could not sell during one monsoon, with a view of disposing of them with greater advantage at another time. To this maxim, which was the result of an ill-judged avarice, were added others arising from superstitious notions. It was deemed a violation of the respect due to religion to permit infidels to inhabit a city, consecrated by the blood of so many martyrs and saints of the Mohammedan persuasion; a prejudice that seemed to have some weight with the government; but these scruples were silenced. Pecuniary considerations were offered by the European nations, and they were allowed to establish factories, and even to display their respective flags upon them.

REVOLUTIONS are so frequent in Asia, that trade cannot possibly be carried on in the same continued track as it is in Europe. These events, joined to the little communication between the different states, either by land or by sea, must naturally occasion great variations in the quantity

Present state of trade in the Persian Gulph, and of that of the English in particular.

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and value of commodities. Bassora, on account of its great distance from the center of trade, is more exposed to this inconvenience than any other place. However, upon an average, we need not be under any apprehension of departing much from the strictest truth, when we venture to estimate the merchandize annually brought there by way of the Gulph, at twelve millions*. Of this the English furnish four millions†, the Dutch two‡, the French, the Moors, the Indians, the Armenians and Arabs furnish the remainder.

THE cargoes of these nations consist of rice, sugar, plain, striped and flowered muslins from Bengal, spices from Ceylon and the Molucca islands; coarse, white, and blue cottons from Coromandel; cardamom, pepper, sanders-wood, from Malabar; gold and silver stuffs, turbans, shawls, indigo, from Surat; pearls from Baharen, and coffee from Mocha; iron, lead, and woollen cloth from Europe. Other articles of less consequence are imported from different places. Some of these commodities are shipped on board small Arabian vessels, but the greater part is brought by European ships, which have the advantage of a considerable freight.

THIS merchandize is sold for ready money; and passes through the hands of the Greeks, Jews, and Armenians. The Banians are employed in changing the coin current at Bassora, for that which is of higher value in India.

THE different commodities collected at Bassora are distributed into three channels. One half of
* 500,000l. † 166,666l. 13s. 4d. ‡ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.
them

them goes to Persia, where they are conveyed by the caravans; there being no navigable river in the whole empire. The chief consumption is in the northern provinces, which have not been so much ravaged as those in the south. Both of them formerly made their payments in precious stones, which were become common by the plunder of India. They had afterwards recourse to copper utensils, which had been exceedingly multiplied from the great abundance of copper mines. At last they gave gold and silver in exchange, which had been concealed during a long scene of tyranny, and are continually digged out of the bowels of the earth. If time be not allowed for the trees that produce gum, and have been cut to push out fresh shoots; if no attention be paid to multiply the breed of goats which afford such fine wool; and if the silks, which are hardly sufficient to supply the few manufactures remaining in Persia, continue to be scarce; in a word, if this empire does not rise again from it's ashes, the mines will be exhausted, and this source of commerce must be given up.

THE second channel is a more sure one, by the way of Bagdad, Aleppo, and other intermediate towns, whose merchants come to buy their goods at Bassora. Coffee, linen, spices, and other merchandize that pass this way, are taken in exchange for gold, French woollen-cloths, galls, and orpiment, which is an ingredient in colours, and much used by the eastern people to extirpate their hair.

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ANOTHER much less considerable channel is that of Arabia Deserta. The Arabs, bordering upon Bassora, repair annually to Aleppo in the spring, to sell camels. It is usual to give them credit for muslins, which they buy very cheap, to the amount of six hundred thousand livres*. They return, in the autumn, bringing woollen-cloths, coral, hard-ware, and some glass and mirrors from Venice. The Arabian caravans are never molested in their journey; nor are foreigners in any danger, if they take care to carry along with them a person belonging to each of the tribes they may happen to meet with. This road through the desert would be universally preferred to that of Bagdad, on account of safety, expedition, and the advantages of sale, if the Pacha of the province, who has established tolls in different parts of his territory, did not use every possible precaution to hinder this communication. It is only by eluding the vigilance of his deputies, that one can prevail upon the Arabs to carry with them some goods, which will not take up much room.

BESIDE these exportations, there is rather a considerable consumption, especially of coffee, at Bassora, and the territories belonging to it. These articles are paid for in dates, pearls, rose-water, dried fruits, and grain, when that is allowed to be disposed of to foreigners.

THIS trade would be more extensive, if it were freed from the shackles that confine it. But the

* 25,000 l.

activity that might be expected from the natives of the country is continually damped by the oppressions they labour under, especially at a distance from the center of the empire. The foreigners are no less oppressed by governors, who derive from their extortions the advantage of maintaining themselves in their office, and frequently of securing their lives. Were it possible in some measure to assuage this thirst of gold, it would soon be renewed by the rivalry of the European nations, whose sole aim is to supplant one another, and who, to succeed in this design, scruple not to employ the most execrable expedients. A striking instance of this odious spirit of jealousy happened in 1748.

BARON KNYPHAUSEN managed the Dutch factory at Bassora with extraordinary success. The English found themselves in imminent danger of losing the superiority they had acquired at this place, as well as in most of the sea-ports in India. The dread of an event which must wound at the same time their interests and their vanity, betrayed them into injustice. They excited the Turkish government to suppress a branch of trade that was useful to it, and procured an order for the confiscation of the merchandise and possessions of their rivals.

THE Dutch factor, who under the character of a merchant concealed the statesman, instantly took a resolution worthy of a man of genius. He retired with his dependents and the broken remains of his fortune to Karek, a small island, at the distance of fifty leagues from the mouth of the river;

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 river; where he fortified himself in such a manner, that by intercepting the Arabian and Indian vessels, bound for the city, he compelled the government to indemnify him for the losses he had sustained by its behaviour. The fame of his integrity and abilities drew to his island the privateers of the neighbouring ports, the merchants, even of Bassora, and the Europeans who traded there. The prosperity of this new colony was daily increasing, when it was forsaken by its founder. The successor of this able man did not display the same talents. Towards the end of the year 1765 he suffered himself to be dispossessed of his island by the Arabian Corsair Mirmahana. The Company lost an important post, and more than two millions*, in artillery, provisions, and merchandise.

By this event, Bassora was freed from a rivalry that was prejudicial to its interests; but an unforeseen, and much more formidable one, has succeeded in its room, which is that of Mascate. The Persian gulph is bordered on the west by the eastern coast of Arabia. The inhabitants of this region have nothing for subsistence but a few dates, and the produce of a plentiful fishery obtained with ease. Even the small quantity of cattle that can be raised there, is fed only upon fish. Every little district has a sheik of its own, who is obliged to provide for the wants of his family by his labour or his industry. On the first signal of the least danger, these people fly for refuge into the neighbouring islands, from whence

* 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

they do not return to the continent 'till the enemy is withdraw'n. There is no place in the country that was ever worth preserving, except Mascate. The great Albuquerque made himself master of this city in 1507, and ruined it's trade, which he intended to transfer entirely to Ormus. When the Portuguese had lost this small kingdom, they were desirous of bringing the trade back to this place. Their endeavours proved ineffectual; and the navigators bent their course to Gombroon. They dreaded the insolence of the old tyrants of India; and were unwilling to rely upon their fidelity. No vessels entered the harbour except those brought in by the Portuguese themselves. It ceased to be frequented by the ships of every nation, after these imperious masters were driven from it in 1648. Their pride prevailing over their views of interest, made them no longer desirous of going there: and they had still a sufficient degree of influence to prevent any ships from entering the harbour, or going out of it.

THE decline of their power tempted the inhabitants of Mascate to the same acts of piracy which they themselves had so long been exposed to. They made descents upon the coasts of their antient oppressors; and the success they met with encouraged them to attack the small Moorish and European vessels that frequented the Persian Gulph. But they were so severely chastised for their plunders by several nations, and especially by the English, that they were obliged to desist. From that period, the city sank into a state of obscurity, which was prolonged for a considerable time

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time by intestine broils, and foreign invasions. At length, the government assuming a more regular form at Mascate, and in the whole country under the jurisdiction of it's Iman, it's commerce began to revive about the year 1749.

THE articles of consumption in the country itself are rice, blue linens, iron, lead, sugar, and some spices; the returns for which are made in myrrh, incense, gum-arabic, and a small quantity of silver. This trade, however, would not be considerable enough to invite ships to this place, if Mascate, which is situated pretty near the entrance of the Persian Sea, were not an excellent mart for the innermost part of the Gulph. All trading nations begin to give it the preference to Bassora, because it makes their voyage shorter by three months; they are free from any kind of extortion; and imposts are lowered to one and a half per cent. The merchandize, indeed, is afterwards to be carried to Bassora, where it pays a tax of three per cent.; but the Arabs sail with so little expence, and have so many methods of eluding the tolls, that they will always find their account in disposing of their goods at Mascate. Beside this, the dates, which are produced at Bassora in greater plenty and perfection than any other article, and are often spoilt on board large vessels that sail slowly, are conveyed with the utmost expedition in light barks to Malabar and the Red Sea. There is a particular reason which will always induce the English, who trade for themselves, to frequent Mascate. They are there exempted from the five per cent. which they are obliged

obliged to pay at Bassora, as well as at all other places where their company have made settlements. BOOK
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THE company have never attempted to establish themselves on the island of Baharen; which we are at a loss to account for. This island, which lies in the Persian gulph, has often changed it's masters. It fell with Ormus, under the dominion of the Portuguese, and was governed by the same laws. These conquerors were afterwards deprived of it, and it has since undergone a variety of revolutions. Thamas Kouli Khan restored it to Persia, to which it had belonged. This haughty usurper at that time conceived the plan of forming a most immense empire. He wished to extend it over two seas, some coasts of which he already possessed: but finding that his subjects opposed his design instead of favouring it, he had recourse to one of those arbitrary acts which tyrants make no scruple of exercising, and transported his subjects in the Persian Gulph to the Caspian Sea, and those in the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulph. This double transmigration appeared to him calculated to break the connections which both these people had formed with his enemies, and of securing their fidelity, if he could not engage their attachment. His death put a period to his vast designs; and the confusion into which his empire was throw'n, afforded a fair opportunity to an ambitious and enterprising Arab, of taking possession of Baharen, where he still maintains his authority.

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THIS island, famous for it's pearl fishery, even at the time when pearls were found at Ormus, Kerek, Keshy, and other places in the Gulph, is now become of much greater consequence, since the other banks have been exhausted, while this has suffered no sensible diminution. The fishery begins in April, and ends in October. It is confined to a tract of four or five leagues. The Arabs, who alone follow this employment, pass their nights upon the island or the coast, unless they are prevented by the wind from going on shore. They formerly paid a toll, which was received by the galliots on that station. Since the last alteration, none but the inhabitants of this island pay this acknowledgment to their Sheik, who is not in a condition to demand them from others.

THE pearls taken at Baharen, though not so white as those of Ceylon and Japan, are much larger than those of the former place, and of a more regular shape than those of the latter. They are of a yellowish cast; but have this recommendation, that they preserve their golden hue; whereas the whiter kind lose much of their lustre by keeping, particularly in hot countries. The shell of both these species, which is know'n by the name of mother of pearl, is used in Asia for various purposes.

THE annual revenue arising from the fishery in the latitude of Baharen, is computed at 3,600,000 livres*. The greatest part of the pearls that are

* 150,000l.

uneven,

uneven, are carried to Constantinople, and other ports of Turkey; where the larger compose part of the ornaments of the head-dress, and the smaller are used in works of embroidery. The perfect pearls must be reserved for Surat, from whence they are distributed throughout all Indostan. The women have so strong a passion for luxury, and the sale of this article is so much increased by superstition, that there is not the least reason to apprehend any diminution either in the price or the demand. There are none of the Gentiles who do not make it a point of religion to bore at least one pearl at the time of their marriage. Whatever may be the mysterious meaning of this custom among a people whose morality and politics are couched in allegories, or where allegory becomes religion; this emblem of virgin modesty has proved advantageous to the pearl trade. The pearls that have not newly been bored make a part of dress; but cannot have a place in the marriage ceremony, where one new pearl is at least indispensable. They are accordingly always sold five and twenty or thirty per cent. cheaper than those which come from the Gulph, where they are taken. There are no pearls at Malabar; but it has riches of another kind.

MALABAR is, properly speaking, a country situated between Cape Comorin and the river of Neticeram. But to make our narrative the better understood, by accommodating it to the notions generally received in Europe, we shall give this name to the whole track extending from the

*Description
of the coast
of Malabar.
Sketch of
the States
that com-
pose it.*

B O O K Indus to Cape Comorin, including the adjacent
III. islands, and beginning with the Maldives.

THE Maldives form a long chain of islands to the west of Cape Comorin, which is the nearest part of the continent. They are divided into thirteen provinces, which are called Atollons. This division is the work of nature, that has surrounded each atollon with a barrier of rocks, furnishing a better defence than the strongest fortification against the impetuosity of the waves, or the attacks of an enemy. The natives reckon the number of these islands at twelve thousand; the smallest of which are nothing more than banks of sand that are overflowed at high tides, and the largest very small in circumference. Of all the channels that separate them, there are only four capable of receiving ships. The rest are so shallow, that they have seldom more than three feet water. It is conjectured, with probability, that all these different islands were formerly one, and that the force of the waves and currents, or some great natural event, has divided them into several portions.

It is probable, that this Archipelago was originally peopled from Malabar. Afterwards, the Arabians went there, usurped the sovereignty, and established their own religion. At length, the two nations were united into one; when the Portuguese, soon after their arrival in India, reduced them to subjection. This tyranny was of short continuance. The garrison, which held them in slavery, was exterminated, and the Maldives

dives recovered their independence. Since this period, they have fallen under the yoke of an arbitrary prince, who keeps his court at Male, and has resigned the whole authority to the priests. He is the sole merchant in his dominions.

AN administration of this stamp, and the barrenness of the country, which produces nothing but cocoa-trees, prevents the trade from being considerable. The exports consist only of cowries, fish, and kayar.

KAYAR is the bark of the cocoa-tree, of which cables are made, that serve for the Indian navigation. This is no where so good, and in such plenty as in the Maldives. A great quantity of it is carried, with some cowries, to Ceylon, where these commodities are exchanged for the areca nut.

THE fish called in the country complemasse, is dried in the sun. It is salted by dipping it several times in sea-water, and cut into pieces of the thickness and length of a man's finger. Two cargoes of it are annually brought to Achen, which are purchased with gold and benzoin. The gold remains in the Maldives; and the benzoin is sent to Mocha, where it procures in return about three hundred bales of coffee for the consumption of these islands.

COWRIES are white and shining shells. The inhabitants fish for them twice a month; three days before the new moon, and three days after. This employment belongs to the women, who wade to the middle in water to gather them upon the sands. They are put up in parcels, each containing

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taining twelve thousand. Those that are not circulated in the country, or carried to Ceylon, are sent to the banks of the Ganges. A great number of vessels annually sail from this river, laden with sugar, rice, linen, and other less considerable articles for the use of the Maldives, and return with cargoes of cowries, valued at about seven or eight hundred thousand livres*. One part is circulated in Bengal, where it serves as small coin. The rest is taken off by the Europeans, who use it with advantage in their trade with Africa. They buy it at six sols† a pound, and sell it from twelve to eighteen‡ in their several capitals: it is worth thirty-five livres§ in Guinea.

THE kingdom of Travancor, which extends from Cape Comorin to the frontiers of Cochin, was not formerly in possession of a greater share of opulence than the Maldives. It is probable that it owed the preservation of its independency to its poverty, when the Moguls made themselves masters of Madura. One of their monarchs, who ascended the throne about the year 1730, and who reigned near forty years, added more dignity to his crown than it had ever had before. He was a man of exquisite and deep sense. He was giving audience to two ambassadors that had been sent him by a neighbouring state, one of whom began a long harangue, which the other was preparing to continue: *be not tedious*, said the prince, with an austere brow, *life is short*. His reign was sul-

* From 29,166l. 13s. 4d. to 33,333l. 6s. 8d.

† About 3d. ‡ Near 8d. on an average. § 11. 9s. 2d.

lied only by one act of weakness: he was of the ^{B O O K} tribe of the Nairs, and thought it a disgrace to ^{III.} him that he did not belong to the superior cast. In the view of being incorporated into it, as much as it was possible, in the year 1752, he caused a golden calf to be cast, which he entered into by the muzzle, and came out at the opposite part. Since that time, his edicts were all dated from the day of so glorious a regeneration; and, to the great scandal of all Indostan, he was acknowledged for a Bramin, by all those of his subjects who enjoyed this important prerogative.

WITH the assistance of a Frenchman named Le Noye, this monarch had formed the best disciplined army that had ever been seen in these countries. With these forces, it is said, that he meditated the conquest of all the Malabar; and perhaps his ambition might have been crowned with success, had it not been opposed by the European nations. Notwithstanding these impediments, he succeeded in enlarging his dominions; and, what was infinitely more difficult, in rendering his usurpations useful to his subjects. In the midst of the tumult of arms, agriculture was encouraged; and some coarse manufactures of cotton were set on foot.

THERE are two European settlements in the kingdom of Travancor: that of the Danes at Kolechey has scarce any trade. It is very seldom, indeed, that the smallest purchase or sale is ever made there by the people of that nation.

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THE English factory of Anjengo is situated on a point of land at the mouth of a small river, which, during the greatest part of the year, is choked up with sand. The town is well peopled, and full of manufactures. It was formerly defended by four small bastions without a ditch, and by a garrison of one hundred and fifty men. This expence has been thought unnecessary. A single agent now takes care of all the business, with less parade and more advantage.

TERRITORY of Anjengo, thou art nothing ; but thou hast given birth to Eliza. A day will come, when these staples of commerce, founded by the Europeans on the coasts of Asia, will exist no more. Before a few centuries are elapsed, the grass will cover them, or the Indians, avenged, will have built upon their ruins. But if my works be destined to have any duration, the name of Anjengo will not be obliterated from the memory of man. Those who shall read my works, or those whom the winds shall drive towards these shores, will say : there it is that Eliza Draper was born ; and if there be a Briton among them, he will immediately add, with the spirit of conscious pride, and there it was that she was born of English parents.

LET me be permitted to indulge my grief, and to give a free course to my tears ! Eliza was my friend. Reader, 'whosoe'er thou art, forgive me this involuntary emotion. Let my mind dwell upon Eliza. If I have sometimes moved thee to compassionate the calamities of the human race,

Let me now prevail upon thee to commiserate my own misfortune. I was thy friend without knowing thee; be for a moment mine. Thy gentle pity shall be my reward. BOOK
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ELIZA ended her days in the land of her forefathers, at the age of three and thirty. A celestial soul was separated from a heavenly body. Ye who visit the spot on which her sacred ashes rest, write upon the marble that covers them: in such a year, in such a month, on such a day, at such an hour, God withdrew his spirit, and Eliza died.

AND thou, original writer, her admirer and her friend, it was Eliza who inspired thy works, and dictated to thee the most affecting pages of them. Fortunate Sterne, thou art no more, and I am left behind. I wept over thee with Eliza; thou wouldst weep over her with me; and had it been the will of Heaven, that you had both survived me, your tears would have fallen together upon my grave,

THE men were used to say, that no woman had so many graces as Eliza; the women said so too. They all praised her candour; they all extolled her sensibility; they were all ambitious of the honour of her acquaintance. The stings of envy were never pointed against unconscious merit.

ANJENGO, it is to the influence of thy happy climate that she certainly was indebted for that almost incompatible harmony of voluptuousness and decency, which diffused itself over all her person, and accompanied all her motions. A statuary who would have wished to represent Voluptuousness, would have taken her for his model;

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and she would equally have served for him who might have had a figure of modesty to display. Even the gloomy and clouded sky of England, had not been able to obscure the brightness of that ærial kind of soul, unknow'n in our climates. In every thing that Eliza did, an irresistible charm was diffused around her. Desire, but of a timid and bashful cast, followed her steps in silence. Any man of courteousness alone, must have loved her, but would not have dared to own his passion.

I SEARCH for Eliza every where : I discover, I discern some of her features, some of her charms, scattered among those women whose figure is most interesting. But what is become of her who united them all? Nature, who hast exhausted thy gifts to form an Eliza, didst thou create her only for one moment? Didst thou make her to be admired for one instant, and to be for ever regretted?

ALL who have seen Eliza, regret her. As for myself, my tears will never cease to flow for her all the time I have to live. But is this sufficient? Those who have know'n her tenderness for me, the confidence she had bestowed upon me, will they not say to me : she is no more, and yet thou livest.

ELIZA intended to quit her country, her relations, her friends, to take up her residence along with me, and spend her days in the midst of mine. What happiness had I not promised to myself? What joy did I not expect, from seeing her sought after by men of genius; and beloved by women of the nicest

nicest taste? I said to myself, Eliza is young, and thou art near thy latter end. It is she who will close thine eyes. Vain hope! Fatal reverse of all human probabilities! My old age has been prolonged beyond the days of her youth. There is now no person in the world existing for me. Fate has condemned me to live, and die alone.

ELIZA's mind was cultivated, but the effects of this art were never perceived. It had done nothing more than embellish nature; it served in her only to make the charm more lasting. Every instant increased the delight she inspired; every instant rendered her more interesting. Such is the impression she had left in India; such is the impression she made in Europe. Eliza then was very beautiful? No, she was simply beautiful: but there was no beauty she did not eclipse, because she was the only one that was like herself.

ELIZA has written; and the men of her nation, whose works have been the most abounding in elegance and taste, would not have disavowed the small number of pages she has left behind her.

WHEN I saw Eliza, I experienced a sensation unknown to me. It was too warm to be no more than friendship; it was too pure to be love. Had it been a passion, Eliza would have pitied me; she would have endeavoured to bring me back to my reason, and I should have completely lost it.

ELIZA used frequently to say, that she had a greater esteem for me than for any one else. At present I may believe it.

IN

HISTORY OF SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

BOOK III.

IN her last moments, Eliza's thoughts were fixed upon her friend; and I cannot write a line without having before me the monument she has left me. Oh! that she could also have endowed my pen with her graces and her virtue? Methinks, at least, I hear her say, "That stern muse that looks at you, is History, whose awful duty it is to determine the opinion of posterity. That fickle deity that hovers o'er the globe, is Fame, who condescended to entertain us a moment about you; she brought me thy works, and paved the way for our connection by esteem. Behold that phoenix immortal amidst the flames: it is the symbol of Genius, which never dies. Let these emblems perpetually incite thee to shew thyself the defender of HUMANITY, of TRUTH, and of LIBERTY."

ELIZA, from the highest Heaven, thy first, and last country, receive my oath: I SWEAR NOT TO WRITE ONE LINE IN WHICH THY FRIEND MAY NOT BE RECOGNISED.

COCHIN was a place of great note when the Portuguese arrived in India. They made themselves masters of it, and were afterwards dispossessed by the Dutch. The sovereign, at the time this place was taken from him, had preserved his dominions, which, in the space of five and twenty years, have been repeatedly invaded by the people of Travancor. His misfortunes have obliged him to take refuge under the walls of his ancient capital, where he lives upon a revenue of 14,400 livres*,

* 600l.

which

which was stipulated to be paid him by ancient capitulations, out of the produce of his customs. BOOK
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In the same suburb is a colony of industrious Jews, who are white men, and ridiculously pretend to have been settled here since the time of the Babylonish captivity, but have certainly been in this situation a very considerable time. A town encompassed with fertile lands, and built upon a river that receives vessels of five hundred tons burthen, and communicates by several navigable branches to the interior parts of the country, may naturally be expected to be in a flourishing condition. If it be otherwise, it is entirely owing to the oppressive nature of the government.

This oppressive spirit is at least as sensibly felt at Calicut: all nations are admitted thither, but none have any sway. The sovereign who rules there at present is a Bramin; and the people are consequently under a theocracy, which, in process of time, becomes the worst of all governments, because the hand of the gods adds to the weight of the sceptre of the tyrants, and the sanctity of one of the authorities, occasions a blind submission, and under pain of sacrilege to the caprices of the other. The orders of the despot are changed into oracles, and the disobedience of the subjects incurs the stigma of a revolt against Heaven. The throne of Calicut is almost the only one in India that is filled by a person of this first of the casts. In other places, the crown is worn by inferior tribes, and even by persons of so obscure a cast, that their domestics would be dishonoured and banished from their tribes,

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tribes, if they condescended even to eat with their monarchs. These people take care not to boast of having supped with the king: this prejudice is not, perhaps, more ridiculous than any other. It humbles the pride of princes, and deprives courtiers of one source of vanity. Such is the influence of superstition, that it gives rise to the universal prevalence of opinion. By superstition artifice divides the empire with power: when the latter has conquered and enslaved the world, the former interposes and prescribes laws in it's turn: they enter into a league with each other, mankind fall prostrate, and submit to their chains. If it should happen that these two powers, being dissatisfied, should rise up the one against the other, then it is that the blood of the citizens is seen streaming in the streets. One party ranges itself under the standard of superstition, the other under the banners of the sovereign. Fathers murder their children; and children plunge, without hesitation, the poniard in the breast of their fathers. Every idea of justice is at an end; every sentiment of humanity is annihilated; man seems metamorphosed, at once, into a wild beast. The cry on one side is, Rebels, obey your monarch; on the other, Sacrilegious, impious men, obey your God, the master of your king, or die. I shall address myself, then, to all the sovereigns of the earth, and I shall venture to reveal to them the secret thought of the priesthood. If the priest were to explain himself frankly, he would say, If the sovereign be not my listor he is mine enemy; I have put the axe into his hand, but

but on condition that I shall point out to him the heads that are to be struck off. The Bramins, the depositaries of religion and the sciences throughout Indostan, are employed as ministers in most of the states, and dispose of every thing at pleasure; but affairs are not the better managed on that account.

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The administration of Calicut is bad in general, and that of the capital still worse. No police is established, no fortifications are raised. The trade, which is clogged with a multiplicity of imposts, is almost entirely in the hands of a few of the most abandoned and faithless Moors in Asia. One of its greatest advantages is, that by the river Baypore, which is only at two leagues distance, it has the means of being furnished with teak timber, which grows upon the plains and mountains in great abundance.

THE territories that border upon Calicut, and belong to the house of Colastry, are little known, except by the French colony at Mahé, which is rising up again from its ashes, and that of the English at Tellicherry, which has experienced no misfortune. The latter, which contains a population of fifteen or sixteen thousand souls, had three hundred white men and five hundred blacks for its defence; they have been recalled since the nation has acquired in these seas an ascendant, which removes the apprehension of seeing the settlement insulted. At present they draw from thence annually (with very little expence) fifteen hundred thousand pounds weight of pepper, and some other provisions of little importance.

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IF we except a few principalities that scarce deserve mention, the states we have been describing properly constitute the whole of the Malabar, a country more agreeable than opulent. The exports consist chiefly of aromatics and spices. The principal articles are sanders wood, India saffron, cardamom, ginger, bastard cinnamon, and pepper.

THE fantalum or sanders grows to the size of a walnut-tree. It's leaves are entire oval, and placed opposite to each other. It's flower is of one single piece, charged with eight stamina, and supported upon the pistil, which becomes an infipid berry, resembling in form that of the laurel. It's wood is white in the circumference, and yellow in the center when the tree is old. This difference of colour constitutes two kinds of sanders, both employed for the same purposes, and having equally a bitter taste, and an aromatic smell. With the powder of this wood a paste is prepared, with which the Chinese, Indians, Persians, Arabians and Turks anoint their bodies. It is likewise burnt in their houses, and yields a fragrant and wholesome smell. The greatest quantity of this wood, to which a sharp and attenuating virtue is ascribed, remains in India. The red sanders, though in less estimation, and less generally used, is sent by preference into Europe. This is the produce of a different tree, which is common on the coast of Coromandel. Some travellers confound it with the wood of Caliatour, which is used in dying.

THE

THE Indian saffron, called by the physicians *curcuma*, or *terra merita*, has a very low and herbaceous stem, formed by the union of the buds, and composed of five or six very long leaves, which bear upon very long stalks. The flowers, disposed in a husky spike near the root, are purpleish, with six unequal divisions; they have but one stamina, supported, as they are, upon the pistil, which becomes a capsula with three divisions, full of round seeds. The root is composed of five or six oblong and knotty tubercles. It is reckoned to have an aperient quality, and to be a remedy for the jaundice. The Indians make a yellow dye of it, and it is an ingredient in most of their dishes.

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SEVERAL kinds of cardamom are found in the different countries of India, and the distinct characters of them have not been sufficiently observed. That which grows in the territories of Cochin, Calicut, and Cananor, is the smallest and most esteemed. It has, as well as the other sorts, a great deal of analogy with the Indian saffron, from which it differs in having it's leaves much more numerous; it's stem higher; it's spike of flowers looser, and coming immediately from the root, and it's fruit less. It's seeds, which have an agreeable aromatic flavour, are used in most Indian ragouts. It is often mixed with areca and betel, and sometimes chewed afterwards; and is used in medicine chiefly to help digestion, and to strengthen the stomach. The cardamom has no need of cultivation, and grows naturally in places covered

covered with the ashes of plants that have been burnt.

THE ginger resembles the cardamom, both in the disposition and structure of it's flowers. The spike comes from the same point. The root, which is knotty and creeping, shoots out several stems of three feet high, the leaves of which are narrower. It is white, tender, and almost as pungent to the palate as pepper. The Indians put it into their rice, which is their common diet, to correct the natural insipidity of this food. This spice, mixed with others, gives the dishes seasoned with it a strong taste, which is extremely disagreeable to foreigners. The Europeans, however, who come to Asia in low circumstances are obliged to accustom themselves to it. Others adopt it out of complaisance to their wives, who are generally natives of the country. It is here, as in all other places, much easier for the men to conform to the taste and foibles of the women, than to get the better of them. Perhaps too the climate may require this manner of living. The best ginger is that which is cultivated in the Malabar; the second sort comes from Bengal. That which grows in the Decan, and in all the Indian Archipelago, is less esteemed; if, however, we except the red ginger of the Moluccas, a species differing from the common sort in the colour of it's root, and in having a less acid taste.

BASTARD cinnamon, know'n in Europe by the name of *caffia lignea*, is to be had at Timor, Java, and Mindanao; but that which grows on

the Malabar coast is much superior. The tree ^{B O O K}
 which produces it, like that of Ceylon, is a ^{III.}
 species of laurel; it yields the same produce, and
 resembles it in most of its characters. Its leaves
 are longer; its bark, more thick and red, it has
 less flavour, and is distinguished particularly by a
 kind of viscidty that is perceived in chewing.
 By these marks we may detect the fraud of the
 merchants, who sell it mixed with the true cinna-
 mon, the virtues of which are infinitely superior,
 and the price four times as much. The Dutch,
 despairing of being able to root up all the trees
 out of the forests that produce it, contrived to re-
 quire, during their superiority in Malabar, the
 sovereigns of the country to renounce their right
 of barking them. This engagement, which was
 never strictly observed, has been less fulfilled since
 the nation that made it has lost its authority, and
 has advanced the price of the cinnamon of Cey-
 lon. The present produce of the cinnamon at
 Malabar may be computed at two hundred thou-
 sand weight. The smallest portion of it is
 brought to Europe; the rest is disposed of in India.
 The trade is entirely in the hands of the free
 English merchants; it may admit of improve-
 ment, but will never be equal to that of pepper.

THE pepper-plant is a shrub, the root of which
 is fibrous and blackish. Its stem, which is sar-
 mentous and flexible, requires a tree or a prop to
 support it. It is branchy, and full of knots, from
 each of which an oval leaf goes off, sharp pointed,
 very smooth, and marked with five nerves; and
 it is of a strong and poignant flavour. Towards

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the middle of the branches, and more frequently at their extremities, we see little buds resembling those of the currant-tree, which bear about thirty flowers, composed of two stamina and one pistil. The fruit that succeeds is at first green, then red, and of the bigness of a pea. It is usually gathered in October, four months after the flowering season, and it is exposed to the sun for seven or eight days. The black colour it then acquires has given it the name of black pepper. It is made white by stripping it of it's outward skin. The largest, heaviest, and least shrivelled, is the best.

THE pepper-plant flourishes in the islands of Java, Sumatra, and Ceylon, and more particularly on the Malabar coast. It is not sow'n, but planted; and great nicety is required in the choice of the shoots. It produces no fruit till the end of three years; but bears so plentifully the three succeeding years, that some plants yield between six and seven pounds of pepper. The produce, from that period, continues decreasing; and the shrub declines so fast, that in twelve years time it ceases bearing.

THE culture of pepper is not difficult; it is sufficient to plant it in a rich soil, and carefully to pull up the weeds that grow in great abundance round it's roots, especially the three first years. As the sun is highly necessary to the growth of the pepper-plant, when it is ready to bear, the trees that support it must be lopped, to prevent their shade from injuring the fruit. When the season is over, it is proper to crop the head of the plant.

Without

Without this precaution there would be too much wood, and little fruit. BOOK
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THE pepper exported from Malabar, which was formerly entirely in the hands of the Portuguese, and is at present divided between the Dutch, English, and French, amounts to about ten millions weight. At ten sols a pound * it is an object of five millions †: it is exported, with other productions, for half that sum. By the sale of these commodities the country is enabled to purchase rice from the Ganges and Canara, coarse linens from Myfore and Bengal, and several sorts of goods from Europe. The payments in money amount to little or nothing.

CANARA, a country bordering upon Malabar, properly so called, has been successfully increased by the provinces of Onor, Baticala, Bandel, and Cananor, by which it has acquired a considerable degree of extent. It is very fertile, and particularly in rice. It was formerly the most flourishing state in these regions; but it declined when it's sovereign was compelled to give annually from twelve to thirteen hundred thousand livres ‡ to the Marattas, his neighbours, to preserve his kingdom from their plunders. It has still continued declining since Hyder Ally Khan became the master of it. Mangalore, which, served for it's harbour, has fallen into proportional decay. It has been less frequented by foreign navigators, because provisions were no longer so plentiful there, and because the multiplicity of

* 5d. † 208,333l. 6s. 8d. ‡ From 50,000l. to 54,166l. 13s. 4d.

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taxes has increased the price of them excessively. Nevertheless the manners of the place have remained as corrupt as they have been from time immemorial. Canara is always able to supply the most voluptuous courtisans, and the finest dancers in Indostan.

Present state
of Goa.

COMMERCE, that raised Venice from her canals, and Amsterdam from her morasses, had rendered Goa the center of the riches of India, and one of the most celebrated marts of the universe. Time; the revolutions so common in Asia; the pride inseparable from great prosperity; the effeminacy that attends on wealth easily acquired; the competition of more enlightened nations; the embezzlements of the treasury, and those of individuals; perfidious and atrocious acts of all kinds: these causes, and others, perhaps, which have escaped our notice, have hastened the destruction of this proud city. It is now reduced to nothing; and the defects of its administration, the corruption of its citizens, the influence of its monks in public deliberations, do not give any hopes of its re-establishment. Deprived of so many fertile provinces, which implicitly obeyed its laws, it has nothing remaining but the small island on which it is situated, and the two peninsulas that form its harbour.

Account of
the pirates
of Angria.

To the north of Goa, the Marattas, masters of some posts on the sea shore, infested this ocean with their piracies. The Mogul, who had just subdued the northern parts of the coast, was highly incensed at them. In order to protect the navigation of his subjects, he equipped a fleet, principally

principally destined to repress this spirit of rapine. At this period the two powers attacked each other. In these repeated and bloody engagements, the Maratta Konna Ji Angria, displayed such distinguished talents, that the direction of the maritime forces of his nation was conferred upon him; and soon after, the government of the important fortress of Severn-droog, built upon a small island, at a little distance from the continent.

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THIS extraordinary man had conquered only for himself. He prevailed upon the companions of his victories, to adopt his plan of independence; and, with their assistance, he seized upon the ships which he had so long and so fortunately commanded. The efforts made to reduce him to obedience again were ineffectual. The allurements of plunder, and the fame of his generosity, drew even so great a number of intrepid adventurers about him, that it was easy for him to become a conqueror. His dominion extended forty leagues along the coast, from Tamana to Rajapour; and twenty or thirty miles within land, according to the disposition of the places, and the facility of their being defended. Nevertheless he owed his greatest success, and all his reputation, to naval operations, which were continued with the same activity, the same bravery, and the same skill, by the heirs of his name and of his dominions.

At first, these pirates only attacked the Indian, Moorish, or Arabian vessels, that had not purchased passports from them. In process of time,

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they insulted the flag of the Europeans, who were reduced to the necessity of never sailing without a convoy. This precaution was not only very expensive, but proved also insufficient: even the ships that composed the escort were often attacked, and several times carried off from their anchors.

THESE depredations had lasted fifty years, when, in 1722, the English joined their forces with those of the Portuguese against these pirates; and it was determined between them to destroy the place of their resort. The expedition was disgraceful and abortive. That which was undertaken by the Dutch, two years after, with seven men of war and two bomb ketches, met with no better success. At length the Marattas, upon the people of Angria refusing to pay a tribute which had long been customary, agreed to attack the common enemy by land, while the English attacked them by sea. This confederacy obtained a complete conquest. Most of the harbours and forts were taken in the campaign of 1755. Geriah, the capital, surrendered the year following, and with it fell a power, the prosperity of which had been only founded on public calamities. By its ruin, the power of the Marattas, which was formidable already, was unhappily increased.

Present State
 of the Ma-
 rattas on the
 coast of Ma-
 labar.

THESE people, who had been long confined within the limits of their mountains, have, by degrees, extended themselves towards the sea, and at present possess the large space between Surat and Goa, where they equally threaten these two cities. They are famous for their incursions and depredations on the coast of Coromandel, in the neighbour-

neighbourhood of Delhi, and on the banks of the Ganges; but the center of their greatest strength, and their fixed station, is at Malabar. That spirit of rapine, which they carry into the countries where they occasionally make inroads, is forsaken in the provinces they have conquered. They have already alleviated the misery of those places which were oppressed for so long a time by the tyranny of the Portuguese, and with which they have successively enlarged their empire. Their conduct has been very different upon the neighbouring seas. They not only plunder all the ships there, which are too weak to resist them, but also give an asylum to foreign pirates, who will consent to share their captures with them.

SURAT was, for a long time, the only sea-port for the exportation of the manufactures of the Mogul empire, and the importation of whatever was necessary to supply it's consumption. To secure it's allegiance, and provide for it's defence, a citadel was built, the commandant of which had no authority over that of the town; care was even taken to chuse two governors, who, from their character, were not likely to unite in oppressing trade. Some disagreeable circumstances gave rise to a third power. The Indian seas were infested with pirates, who interrupted the navigation, and prevented devout Mussulmen from making voyages to Mecca. The emperor thought the chief of a colony of Coffrees, who were settled at Rajapour, would be the proper person to stop the progress of these depredations, and therefore appointed him his admiral. Three lacks of rupees, or 720,000

Revolutions
that have
happened to
Surat.
Conse-
quence of
the influ-
ence which
the English
have acquir-
ed there.

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livres*, were assigned him for his annual pay, This salary not being punctually paid, the admiral seized the castle, and from that fortress laid the town under contribution. A scene of general confusion ensued; and the avarice of the Marattas, which was always active, became more eager than ever. These Barbarians, who had extended their usurpations even to the gates of the place, had, for a long time, been allowed a third part of the duties, on condition that they should not molest the inland trade. They contented themselves with this contribution, so long as fortune did not throw more considerable advantages in their way. As soon as they perceived this ferment among the citizens, not doubting that one of the parties might be transported so far by resentment as to open the gates to them, they drew their forces near to the walls. The traders finding their effects daily in danger of being plundered, called the English to their assistance in 1759, and aided them in taking the citadel. The court of Delhi confirmed them in the possession of it, and in the exercise of the naval command, together with the appointments annexed to both commissions. This revolution restored some degree of tranquillity to Surat and its Nabob; while it made them, however, totally dependent upon the power they had called in to their assistance.

THIS success enlarged the ambitious views of the agents of the English Company. Those among them who conducted the affairs on the

* 30,000l.

Malabar coast, were troubled with secret discontent; at not having had any share in the immense fortunes that had been made on the Coromandel coast, and in Bengal. They turned their avaricious views on all sides, and at length, in 1771, fixed them upon Baroche, a large town, situated at the distance of five and thirty miles from the mouth of the river Nerdaba, which falls into the gulph of Cambaia, and very anciently celebrated for the richness of it's soil, and the abundance of it's manufactures. Even the trading ships cannot get up to it without the assistance of the tide, nor come out but when the tide ebbs.

Fifty hundred white men, and a thousand blacks, set out from Bombay, to take possession of the place, upon the most frivolous pretences. The expedition failed, from the incapacity of the person who was intrusted with the conduct of it. It was resumed the next year. The besieged, emboldened by their first success, and still more, perhaps, by an antient tradition, which promised them that their town would never be taken, defended themselves for a considerable time; but at length their walls were carried by an assault.

DURING the whole siege, the mother of the Nabob had not quitted her son, braving along with him the ravages of the cannon and of the bombs. They went out of the place together, when it was no longer tenable, and were pursued. *Go, said this heroic woman to the companion of her flight; Go, and seek an asylum and succours among your allies; I will retard the march of our enemies, and may perhaps escape them.* Finding herself

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herself afterwards too closely pressed, she was seen to have recourse to that act so common in Indostan among the women who have kept their daggers: she plunged one into her heart, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. Her son did not long survive her.

THIS Prince, before his catastrophe, was obliged to give to the Marattas the six-tenths of his revenue, which did not exceed 1,680,000 livres*. It was by virtue of their being in possession of Amed-Abad, capital of the Guzarat, that these barbarians exacted this tribute. The English not only refused to submit to this humiliating tribute, but wanted also to extend their rights over the whole province. Claims of so opposite a nature, laid the foundations of discord. All these troubles were appeased in 1776, by a treaty, which regulated that the antient usurpers should preserve their conquests, but that the new ones should have the free possession of Baroche, and that a territory should be added to it's own, the taxes upon which were to produce 720,000 livres†.

THE Marattas seemed then to be in a situation which did not permit them to expect so favourable an arrangement. The union subsisting between these pirates had never been shaken. This harmony had insured them a decided superiority over the other powers of Indostan, which were perpetually agitated with domestic feuds. Their first divisions broke out in 1773. The brother and the son of their last chief disputed the empire,

* 70,000l.

† 30,000l.

and

and the divided subjects took part with the one and the other, according to their respective inclinations or interests.

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DURING the course of these civil wars, the Soubah of the Decan regained the possession of the provinces which the calamities of the times had obliged him to abandon to these barbarians. Heyder-Ali-Khan appropriated to himself that part of their territory that was most suitable to him. The English thought the opportunity favourable for seizing upon Salfette, from whence the Marattas had driven the Portuguese in 1740.

THE conquest of this island was not so easily accomplished as it had been expected. The citadel of Tanah, in which all its strength consisted, was defended with a degree of skill and perseverance unknown in these regions. When it was summoned to surrender, the Governor, a man of ninety-two years of age, proudly answered, *I was not sent here for that purpose*; and he immediately doubled his exertions and his courage. It was not till after he had been slain, and after his brave companions had sustained a very bloody assault since his death, that the British troops entered the place on the 28th December 1774.

Description
of the island
of Salfette.

THEN it was only that the conqueror found himself master of a territory, which, though it be no more than twenty miles long, and fifteen broad, is one of the most populous and most fertile in Asia. In the center of it is the mountain of Keneri, full of large and deep excavations, all of them cut in the body of the rock. These are so many pagodas, generally arranged in a line, but

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but sometimes placed one above the other. They are most frequently ornamented with figures and inscriptions cut or engraved upon stone. The same singularities are observable in the Island of Elephants, bordering upon Salfette.

WORKS of so astonishing a nature, have given rise to a multiplicity of fabulous accounts. The common people think they were executed five hundred thousand years ago, by divinities of an inferior order. Some Bramins ascribe them to Alexander the Great, whom they delight to honour with every thing that appears to them above the natural powers of man. We may reasonably expect, that the English, to whom we are indebted for so much information respecting Asia, will neglect no opportunity of being acquainted with the nature of these monuments, which are capable of throwing so great a light upon the history and religion of the Indies. They will the more easily accomplish this, as Salfette is only separated from Bombay by a very narrow channel.

Description
of the island
of Bombay,
it's present
state, and
it's import-
ance.

THIS island, which is little more than twenty, or five and twenty miles in circumference, was, for a long time, an object of general horror. No man chose to settle upon a territory, so unhealthy, as to give rise to the proverb, *That at Bombay a man's life did not exceed two monsoons*. The country places were then filled with bamboos and cocoa-trees: it was with stinking fish that the trees were dunged, and the coasts were corrupted with infectious fens. These principles of destruction would undoubtedly have disgusted the English of their colonies, had they not been detained there by the best har-
bour

bour in Indostan, and the only one which, beside that of Goa, is capable of receiving ships of the line. So singular an advantage made them desirous of correcting the insalubrity of the air, which was easily done by laying the country open, and procuring a drain for the waters. Then the inhabitants of the neighbouring regions, attracted by the mildness of the government, resorted in multitudes to this settlement.

If we cast an eye upon the globe since the origin of history, we shall see men pursued by calamity, and fixing wherever they can be allowed to breathe. Is it not surprising, that the universality, and constant appearance of this phænomenon, has not yet taught the rulers of the earth, that the only way to prevent emigrations, is to make their subjects enjoy a situation mild enough to fix them in the country that gave them birth?

It is computed, that there are at present at Bombay near one hundred thousand inhabitants, seven or eight thousand of whom are sailors: a few of them are employed in manufactures of silk and cotton. As the larger productions could not prosper upon a rock where the soil has very little depth, the attention of the people has been turned towards the cultivation of an excellent kind of onion, which, together with the fish that is dried there, is advantageously sold, in the most distant markets. These labours are not carried on with that degree of indolence so common under a burning sky. The Indian has shewed himself susceptible of emulation; and his character has been in some measure changed, by the example
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of the indefatigable Perfecs. The latter are not fishermen, and cultivators alone. The construction, fitting out, and dispatching of ships; every thing in a word which concerns the road, or navigation, is intrusted to their activity and industry.

BEFORE the year 1759, the ships dispatched from Europe to the Red Sea, the Persian Gulph, and the coast of Malabar, generally went to the coasts where they were to deposit their money and goods, and where they were to take in their fresh lading. At that period, they all went and stopped at Bombay, where all the merchandise from the neighbouring places is collected without expence, since the Company have been invested with the dignity of admiral to the great Mogul, and in consequence of this appointment have been obliged to maintain a considerable maritime force in these latitudes.

It was necessary that a staple of this kind should be well supplied with docks, ships, and merchants. Accordingly, the island soon possessed itself of all the navigation, and great part of the trade of Surat, which the other neighbouring marts had before carried on in the Asiatic seas.

THESE advantages required to be settled upon a firm footing. To effect this, the harbour, which is the center of so many transactions, and where the fleets sent by Great Britain into the Indian ocean are to be repaired, has been surrounded with fortifications. These works are constructed with solidity, and have no other defect, it is said, than that of being too extensive. They are

are defended by twelve hundred Europeans, and a much greater number of Asiatic troops.

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IN 1773, the revenue of Bombay, and all its dependencies, amounted to 13,607,212 livres, 10 sols*, and the expences to 12,711,150 livres†. The state of these numerous colonies has been certainly improved since that period; but we cannot ascertain the amount of these improvements.

THE possessions of the English and the Marattas on the Malabar coast, are too much intermixed; their interests too contrary; and their claims too extensive, not to make it certain, that, sooner or later, these two powers will be at variance. It is impossible to determine which of them will be conqueror: this event will depend upon the circumstances they shall happen to be in at the time, upon the alliances they may have formed, and principally upon the statesmen who shall direct their political measures, and upon the generals who shall have the command of their armies. Let us see whether tranquillity be more firmly established on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá, which extend from Cape Comorin to the Ganges.

State of the coast of Coromandel, at the time of the arrival of the English.

GEOGRAPHERS and historians always consider these two countries, bordering on each other, as distinct, and as inhabited by people who have no resemblance, either in their manners or their coin. They also differ in their language. Those of Orixá have an idiom of their own, while their neighbours generally speak the Malabar tongue.

* 566,967l. 3s. 4d.

† 529,631l. 5s.

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But as the commerce in both is nearly the same, and carried on in the same manner, we shall comprehend them both under the single name of Coromandel. The two coasts resemble each other in other respects. In both of them the heats are excessive; but, from the beginning of June to the middle of October, the sea-breezes, which blow from ten o'clock in the morning 'till near ten at night, render the climate supportable. It is still more refreshed in the month of July, and especially in November, by the rains, which may be called incessant.

THIS immense shore is covered, for the space of about a mile, with a sand entirely barren, against which the waves of the Indian ocean break with violence. Formerly, none but canoes, made with planks, very slightly put together, and, as it were, only sow'n with kayar, landed on this spot. The first Europeans who came to these shores, were desirous of landing there with larger and stronger built vessels. Repeated misfortunes soon cured them of their presumption. They found, in process of time, that nothing was more reasonable than to conform to a practice, which had at first appeared to them, fit only to be followed by an ignorant and unexperienced people.

THERE were many reasons which at first occasioned this country to be neglected by the Europeans who came to India. It was separated by inaccessible mountains from Malabar, where these bold navigators endeavoured to settle themselves. Spices and aromatics, which were the principal objects

objects of their attention, were not to be found there. In a word, civil dissensions had banished from it tranquillity, security, and industry.

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AT that period, the empire of Bijnagar, to which this vast country was subject, was falling to ruin. The first monarchs of that illustrious state owed their power to their abilities. They headed their armies in war; in peace, they directed their councils, visited their provinces, and administered justice. Prosperity corrupted them. By degrees, they contracted the habit of withdrawing themselves from the sight of their people, and of leaving the cares of government to their generals and ministers. This conduct paved the way for their ruin. The governors of Visapour, the Carnatic, Golconda, and Orissa, threw off their dependence, and assumed the title of kings. Those of Madura, Tanjore, Mysore, Gingi, and some others, likewise usurped the sovereign authority, but retained their ancient title of Naick. This great revolution had just happened when the Europeans appeared upon the coast of Coromandel.

THE foreign trade was at that time inconsiderable: it consisted only of diamonds from Golconda, which were carried to Calicut and Surat, and from thence to Ormus or Suez, from whence they were circulated through Europe and Asia. Massulipatan, the richest and most populous city in these countries, was the only market that was known for linens; they were purchased at a great fair annually holden there by the Arabian and Malayan vessels that frequented that bay, and by

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caravans that arrived from distant parts. The linens were exported to the same places as the diamonds.

In what manner the Europeans have settled their trade on the Coromandel coast; and the extent they have given to it.

THE taste for the manufactures of Coromandel, which began to prevail here, inspired all the European nations trading to the Indian seas with the resolution of forming settlements there. They were not discouraged either by the difficulty of conveying goods from the inland parts of the country, where there was no navigable river; by the total want of harbours, where the sea, at one season of the year, is not navigable; by the barrenness of the coasts, for the most part uncultivated and uninhabited; nor by the tyranny and fluctuating state of the government. They thought that industry would come there in quest of money; that Pegu would furnish timber for building, and Bengal corn for subsistence; that a prosperous voyage of nine months would be more than sufficient to complete their loadings; and that, by fortifying themselves, they should be secure against the attacks of the weak tyrants that oppressed these countries.

THE first colonies were established near the seashore. Some of them obtained a settlement by force: most of them were formed with the consent of the sovereigns, and all were confined to a very narrow tract of land. The boundaries of each were marked out by a hedge of thorny plants, which was their only defence. In process of time, fortifications were raised; and the security derived from them, added to the lenity of the government, soon increased the number of colonists.

nists. The splendour and independence of these settlements frequently excited the jealousy of the princes in whose dominions they were formed; but their attempts to demolish them proved abortive. Each colony increased in prosperity, in proportion to the riches and the wisdom of the nation that had founded it.

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NONE of the companies that exercised an exclusive privilege beyond the Cape of Good Hope, had any concern in the trade of diamonds; which was always left to private merchants, and by degrees fell intirely into the hands of the English, or the Jews and Armenians that lived under their protection. At present, this grand object of luxury and industry is much reduced. The revolutions that have happened in Indostan, have prevented people from resorting to these rich mines; and the anarchy into which this unhappy country is plunged, leaves no room to hope that they will be again attended to. The whole of the commercial operations on the coast of Coromandel is confined to the purchase of cottons.

THE manufacturing of the white cottons bought there, differs so little from that of our's, that it would be neither interesting nor instructive to enter into a minute description of it. The process used in making their printed cottons, which was at first servilely followed in Europe, has since been rendered more simple, and brought to greater perfection, by our manufactures. The painted cottons, which are likewise bought there, we have not yet attempted to imitate. Those who ima-

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gine we have been prevented from undertaking this branch of industry, merely by the high price of labour among us, are mistaken. Nature has not given us the materials necessary for the composition of those bright and indelible colours, which constitute the principal merit of the Indian manufactures; nor has she furnished us with the waters that are of use to work them up properly.

THE Indians do not universally observe the same method in painting their cottons; either because there are some niceties peculiar to certain provinces, or because different soils produce different drugs for the same uses.

WE should tire the patience of our readers, were we to trace the slow and painful progress of the Indians in the art of painting their cottons. It is natural to believe that they have derived it from their antiquity, rather than from the fertility of their genius. The circumstance that seems to authorize this conjecture is, that they have stopped in their improvements, and have not advanced a single step in the arts for many ages; whereas we have proceeded with amazing rapidity, and view, with an emulation full of confidence, the immense space that still lies between us and the goal. Indeed, were we to consider only the want of invention in the Indians, we should be tempted to believe that, from time immemorial, they had received the arts they cultivate from some more industrious nation: but when it is remembered that these arts are entirely dependent

on the materials, gums, colours, and productions of India, we cannot but be convinced that they are natives of that country. BOOK
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It may appear somewhat surprising that cottons painted with all colours should be sold at so moderate a price, that they are almost as cheap as those which have only two or three. But it must be observed that the merchants of the country sell to all the companies, a large quantity of cottons at a time; and that the demand for cottons painted with various colours makes but a small article in their assortments, as they are not much esteemed in Europe.

THOUGH cottons of all sorts be in some degree manufactured throughout the whole country of Indostan, which extends from Cape Comorin to the banks of the Ganges; it is observable, that the fine sorts are made in the eastern part, the common ones in the center, and the coarse ones in the most western districts. Manufactures are established in the European colonies, and upon the coast: they are more frequent at the distance of five or six leagues from the sea, where cotton is more cultivated, and provisions are cheaper. The purchases made there are carried thirty or forty leagues further into the country. The Indian merchants settled in our factories have always the management of this business.

THE quantity and quality of the goods wanted are settled with these people: the price is fixed according to the patterns; and, at the time the contract is made, a third or a fourth part of the money agreed for is advanced. This arrangement

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deed is of no force in a court of judicature, unless it be signed by three witnesses, and bear the day of the month, and the year when it was made, with the rate of interest agreed upon by the parties. If the borrower should fail to fulfil his engagements, he may be arrested by the lender himself. He is never imprisoned, because there is no fear of his making his escape. He would not even eat without obtaining leave of his creditor.

THE Indians make a threefold division of interest; one of which is sin, another neither sin nor virtue, and a third virtue: this is their mode of expression. The interest that is sin is four per cent. a month; and the interest that is neither sin nor virtue, is two; the interest that is virtue, one. The last is, in their opinion, an act of beneficence that only belongs to the most heroic minds. Yet though the Europeans who are forced to borrow meet with this treatment, it is plain they cannot avail themselves of the indulgence without involving themselves in ruin.

THE foreign trade of Coromandel is not in the hands of the natives. In the western part, indeed, there are Mohammedans, known by the name of Chalias, who, at Naour and Porto-Nuovo, send out ships to Achen, Merguy, Siam, and the eastern coast. Beside vessels of considerable burden employed in these voyages, they have smaller embarkations for the coasting trade, for Ceylon, and the pearl fishery. The Indians of Massulipatan turn their attention another way. They import white callicoos from Bengal, which they dye or print, and sell them again at the places
from

from whence they had them, at thirty-five or forty per cent. advantage.

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EXCEPTING these transactions, which are of very little consequence, the whole trade is vested in the Europeans, who have no partners but a few Banians and Armenians settled in their colonies. The quantity of callicoës exported from Coromandel to the different sea-ports in India, may be computed at three thousand five hundred bales. Of these the French carry eight hundred to Malabar, Mochâ, and the isle of France; the English twelve hundred to Bombay, Malabar, Sumatra, and the Philippine Islands; and the Dutch fifteen hundred to their several settlements. Except five hundred bales destined for Manilla, each of the value of 2,400 livres *, the others are of so ordinary a kind that they do not exceed 720 livres † at prime cost: so that the whole number of three thousand five hundred bales does not amount to more than 3,360,000 livres ‡.

COROMANDEL furnishes Europe with nine thousand five hundred bales; eight hundred of which are brought by the Danes; two thousand five hundred by the French; three thousand by the English; and three thousand two hundred by the Dutch. A considerable part of these callicoës is dyed blue, or striped with red and blue for the African trade. The others are fine muslins, printed callicoës, and handkerchiefs from Massulipatan, or Palicate. It is proved by experience, that one with another, each bale, in the nine thou-

* 100l. † 39l. 10s. ‡ 140,000l.

sand

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THE payments are not entirely made in specie either in Europe or Asia; we give in exchange woollen cloths, iron, lead, copper, coral, and some other articles of less value. On the other hand, Asia pays with spices, rice, sugar, corn, and dates. All these articles taken together, may amount to 4,800,000 livres ‡. From this calculation it follows, that Coromandel receives 6,720,000 livres § in money.

Possessions
of the Eng-
lish on the
coast of Co-
romandel,

THE English, who have acquired the same superiority upon this coast that they have elsewhere, have formed on it several settlements. The first that presents itself, is Devi-cottah. It was Colonel Lawrence who first seized upon it in 1749. Some political considerations determined the king of Tanjore to give up what had been taken from him, and to add to it a territory of three miles in circumference. In 1758, the place passed under the dominion of the French, but soon after returned, without fortifications, under that of it's first conquerors. They flattered themselves that they should make an important post of it. It was an opinion almost generally received, that the river Colram, which washes it's walls, might be put in a condition to receive large ships. The coast of Coromandel would not then have been without a harbour; and the nation in possession of the only road that could be found there, would

* 40l.

† 200,000l.

‡ 340,000l.

§ 280,000l.

have

have had a powerful advantage, both with re- BOOK
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spect to war and commerce, of which it's rival
nations would have been deprived. Some un-
foreseen obstacles must have rendered this project
impracticable, since the post has been abandoned,
and farmed out for a rent of forty-five, or fifty
thousand livres*.

IN 1686, the English purchased Cudalore, with
a territory extending eight miles along the coast,
and four miles into the interior part of the country.
This acquisition, which they obtained of an In-
dian prince for the sum of 742,500 livres†, was
confirmed to them by the Moguls, who soon after
made themselves masters of the Carnatic. Con-
sidering afterwards, that the fortress, which they
found ready built, was more than a mile from the
sea, and that the reinforcements destined for it
might be intercepted; they built fort St. David
within cannon-shot of it, at the mouth of a river,
and on the verge of the Indian ocean. Since
that time, three hamlets have been erected, which,
with the town and fortress, are computed to con-
tain sixty thousand souls. Their employment is
dyeing blue, or painting the cottons that come
from the inland parts of the country, and manu-
facturing the finest dimities in the world, to the
amount of 1,500,000 livres‡. The plundering
of this settlement by the French in 1758, and the
demolishing of it's fortifications, have done it no
lasting injury. It's spirit seems rather increased,
though St. David has not been rebuilt, and Cu-

* From 1,875l. to 2,083l. 6s. 8d.

† 30,937l. 10s.

‡ 62,500l.

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III. dalore is only put into a condition of making a tolerable resistance. A revenue of 144,000 livres* defrays all the expences of this settlement. Masfulipatan affords advantages of another kind.

THIS town, which is situated at the mouth of the Cristina, serves as a harbour for the provinces that formerly constituted the kingdom of Golconda, and for other countries with which it keeps up an easy intercourse, by the means of excellent roads, and by the help of a river. It was antiently the most active, most populous, and richest market in Indostan. The great settlements successively formed by the Europeans on the coast of Coromandel, made it lose much of it's consequence. The French imagined that they could restore it to some of it's former splendour, and made themselves masters of it in 1750. Nine years after, it passed from their hands into those of the English, who are still in possession of it.

THESE last sovereigns have not succeeded, nor will they ever succeed, in bringing Masfulipatan to the state in which it was in very antient times: but their efforts have not been entirely throw'n away. As the plants which are used for dying the linens, are more plentiful, and of better quality, on this territory than in any other part, some of the manufactures have been revived, and others extended. This acquisition, however, will always be of less advantage to the English, from the goods they will purchase there, than from those which they may sell. From time immemorial, the people from the inland country used

* 60,000l.

to come in caravans to provide themselves with salt upon this coast. At present they resort to it from a more considerable distance, and in greater numbers than ever; and carry back with them, along with this article of absolute necessity, many woollen goods, and several other works of European manufacture. This circulation, which has added considerably to the customs, will necessarily increase, unless it should be put a stop to by any of those revolutions which so frequently, and so dreadfully, change the face of this rich part of the globe.

GREAT BRITAIN also possesses upon this coast the provinces of Candavir, of Moutasfanagar, of Elur, of Rajamandry, and Chicacol, which extend six hundred miles along the coast, and which run from thirty to ninety miles up the country. The French, who had obtained the cession of them during the short term of their prosperity, lost them at the period of their imprudences and their misfortunes. They became again, though for a little time, part of the Soubahship of the Decan, from which they had been separated, as it were, by force. In 1766, it became necessary to cede them to the English, whose insatiable ambition was supported by intrigues artfully conducted, and by formidable forces. The colonies which the rival nations had formed in this great space, were unmolested: but Vizagapatam, and the other factories of the ruling people, acquired fresh activity; and the number of them was increased. The country emerged a little from that state of anarchy, into which it had been plunged by

BOOK by a series of petty tyrants. It yields a revenue of 9,000,000 of livres*, of which only 2,025,000 livres† are given to the Indian Prince, who has been stripped of it. The exports from hence are at present five times more considerable than they were ten years ago.

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THE quantity of labour increases in proportion as the Zemindars, who were originally nothing more than farmers, are deprived of the absolute authority they had usurped during the commotions of their country, in proportion as they are reduced to an impossibility of making war against each other; and in proportion as the districts submitted to their jurisdiction, are freed from their oppression. The prosperity would be more rapid and brilliant, if the English government would preserve an immense tract of land from the inundations of the Christina and the Guadavery, with which it is overflowed six months in the year; if these waters were prudently distributed for the purpose of watering the country; and if these two streams were united by a navigable canal. The antient Indians had an idea of these labours; and perhaps they were begun. At least they are thought by men of understanding to be very practicable, and attended with little expence.

BUT how vain would be the hopes of such an improvement? We are not afraid of being accused of injustice, in suspecting that the Company is much more engaged with the thoughts of acquiring Orixá, a province which extends along the

* 375,000l.

† 84,375l.

borders of the sea, from their possessions in Golconda, to the banks of the Ganges, which are ^{B O O K} _{III.} equally subject to them.

BEFORE the year 1736, this country made part of Bengal. At this period the Marattas took possession of it, and still maintain themselves in it. They left the European factories undisturbed, and settled in the inland parts. Naagapour is their capital. Their military force consists of forty thousand horse. Their people are chiefly employed in spinning cotton, which they go and sell upon the coast. So great a dismemberment of the rich empire they have conquered in this part of the globe, is displeasing to the English, and their ambition is to unite it to their dominions.

HOWEVER this may be, the goods bought, or fabricated in the settlements formed by this nation between Cape Comorin and the Ganges, are all collected at Madras.

THIS town was built more than a century ago by William Langhorne, in the country of Arcot, and by the sea-side. As he placed it in the midst of a sandy tract, altogether dry, and where there was no water fit for drinking, but what was fetched from the distance of more than a mile, people were curious to know what reasons could have determined him to make so bad a choice. His friends pretended that his view was to draw thither all the trade of St. Thomas, which has actually been the consequence, while his enemies imputed it to a desire of continuing in the neighbourhood

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bourhood of a mistress he had in that Portuguese colony.

MADRAS is divided into the White Town and the Black Town ; the first of these, more known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, is inhabited only by the English. For a long time it had only a few fortifications, and those very bad : but some considerable works have lately been added. The Black Town, which was formerly quite open, has been surrounded, since the year 1767, with a strong wall, and a ditch filled with water. This precaution, joined to the ruin of Pondicherry, has collected three hundred thousand men, Jews, Armenians, Moors, and Indians, on this spot.

At the distance of a mile from this settlement, is Chepauk, where the court of the Nabob of Arcot is fixed, since 1769.

THE territory of Madras was formerly nothing : at present, it extends fifty miles west, fifty miles north, and fifty miles south. In this large space, there are considerable manufactures, which are constantly increasing, and various kinds of cultivation, which are becoming more flourishing every day. These different branches of industry keep one hundred thousand persons employed.

THESE concessions were the reward of a plan which the English had formed of bestowing the Carnatic on Mohammed-Ali-Khan, of the battles they had fought to maintain him in the post to which they had raised him, and of the good fortune they had to destroy the power of the French,

French, ever ready to counteract their measures.

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THE fortunate Nabob soon reaped the fruits of his gratitude. His protectors, for their interest as well as his, undertook to enlarge the bounds of his authority and of his dominions. Before the Mogul government had degenerated into anarchy, several Indian and Moorish princes used to send their tributes to the Carnatic, from whence they were to be conveyed to the treasury of the empire. Since all the springs of government were relaxed, this double obligation was no longer fulfilled. The English confirmed the independence of the country, which they considered as their own: but they insisted, that the provinces which had been subordinate to that part of the country, should continue in their former subjection. The weakest of them complied; others more powerful, ventured to resist; but they were subdued.

THESE circumstances combined, have given Mohammed-Ali-Khan a very extensive dominion, and a revenue of 31,500,000 livres*. He gives up but nine millions† of this to the English, who are obliged to defend his fortresses and his dominions; so that there remain 22,500,000 livres‡ for his personal expences, and the support of his civil government.

THE English Company had valuable possessions on the coast of Coromandel, eighteen thousand Sipahis well disciplined, and three thousand five

* 1,312,500l.

† 375,000l.

‡ 937,500l.

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hundred

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hundred white troops. They disposed at pleasure of all the forces of the Carnatic. The only European nation, that could have given them umbrage, was subdued. They seemed therefore confirmed in the peaceful enjoyment of so many advantages, when, in 1767, they were attacked by Hyder-Ali-Khan, a soldier of fortune, who, after he had learnt the military art from the French, had made great conquests, and become master of Mysore. This daring and active adventurer, at the head of a better army than had ever been commanded by an Indian general, entered boldly into the countries which British valour was bound to defend. The war became a war of stratagem, as this artful commander wished it to be. Experience having taught him to fear the attacks of the infantry and artillery employed against him, he declined, as much as possible, any regular action, and contented himself with hovering about the enemy, harassing them, carrying off their forragers, and intercepting their provisions, while his cavalry was employed in ravaging the country, plundering the provinces, and spreading desolation as far as to the gates of Madras. These calamities made the English desirous of an accommodation, which they obtained, after a destructive, and not very honourable war, of two years.

SINCE that period, the views of the Company have been to prevent Hyder-Ali-Khan, the Marattas, and the Soubah of the Decan, the three chief powers of the peninsula, from making any conquests, or forming any close connection with each

each other. While they succeed in this political system, they will preserve their superiority on the coast of Coromandel: but they will be obliged to increase their revenue, which, in 1773, did not exceed 24,196,680 livres* ; or they must diminish their expences, which, at the same period, amounted to 26,397,585 livres†. It will only be after this change has been accomplished, that they will be in a condition effectually to protect their settlements at Sumatra.

ALTHOUGH the road of this very extensive island, had been frequented by the English, ever since their arrival in India, it was not till 1688 that the island received a colony of these people. The navigators dispatched to Madras, had orders to fix the factory at Indapoura, the part of the country most abounding in gold; but chance decided the matter otherwise: the winds having driven the ships to Bencoolen, it was thought proper to fix there.

English
settlement
in the island
of Sumatra.

THE two nations made their exchanges at first with a great deal of frankness and confidence: but this harmony did not subsist long. The agents of the Company soon gave themselves up to that spirit of rapine and tyranny, which the Europeans so universally carry into Asia. Clouds of discontent began to arise between them and the natives, which were gradually collected into a storm. The animosity was already at it's height, when the foundations of a fortress were seen rising out of the ground, at the distance of two leagues

* 1,003,195l.

† 1,089,899l. 7s. 6d.

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from the city. At this sight, the inhabitants of Bencoolen took up arms, and were joined by all the country. The magazines were burnt, and the English obliged to embark with precipitation. Their banishment was not of long continuance. They were recalled ; and derived from their disaster, the advantage of being allowed to finish the construction of Fort Marlborough without opposition.

THEIR tranquillity was no more disturbed till 1759. At this period, the French took the fort, and destroyed it, together with all the civil and military edifices. The booty was very inconsiderable, because every thing of value had been removed in time. Even before the conclusion of hostilities, the English regained possession of this place ; but they did not reinstate the works. Fort Marlborough then shook off the dependence it had hitherto been under to Madras, and constituted a direction of its own.

THE Chinese, the Malays, and the slaves brought from the Mozambique, form the population of the English settlement, which is defended by four hundred Europeans and some Sipahis. All the trade carried on there, belongs to the free merchants, except that of pepper. The Company draw from thence annually fifteen hundred tons of it, which they get at an excessive low rate. Half of this produce is conveyed to Great Britain by a single ship ; the rest is put on board two vessels sent from Europe, and which carry it to China, where it is disposed of to advantage. In 1773, the revenue of this factory arose

to

to 4,982,895 livres*, and it's expences were 3,165,480 livres†.

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THIS colony was not thought sufficiently useful: accordingly, it was to have been abandoned, but not 'till after the success of a great project that was meditated. The English had for a long time wished for a possession that might become a staple, where the merchandize and provisions of China, and of the Oriental islands, might be exchanged for the provisions and merchandize of Indostan and Europe. Their plan was to make it the most considerable mart in Asia. The island of Balambangan, situated at the northern point of Borneo, appeared to them calculated to answer their purpose; and the king of Solor resigned it to them in 1766. The next year, they planted their flag there; but it was not till 1772, that they formed their settlement. Some clerks, three hundred white or black soldiers, one ship, and two smaller vessels, were the first beginnings of an edifice, which, in process of time, was to be raised to an immense height. Unfortunately, the commanders quarrelled; the few troops that had escaped from fatal diseases, were too much scattered; and the ships went to open a trade with the neighbouring states. Under these inauspicious circumstances, the new factory was attacked, taken, and destroyed.

Views of
the English
upon Ba-
lambangan.
Their ex-
pulsion from
that island.

THE English are still ignorant, or pretend to be so, from whence this act of violence, which cost them 9,000,000 of livres‡, proceeded. Their

* 207,620l. 12s. 6d.

† 131,895l.

‡ 375,000l.

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suspensions have appeared to fix alternately upon the Dutch, who are constantly alarmed for the Moluccas; upon the Spaniards, who might be apprehensive for the Philippine islands; upon the barbarians of the neighbouring latitudes, whose liberty seemed to be threatened: sometimes even upon a conspiracy of all these enemies, who had united their resentment and their interests. From whatever quarter this unexpected stroke may have come, the mischief is not irremediable. The British nation may recover at Queda, on another part of the continent of Malacca, or in some one of the numerous islands scattered about this strait, what they have lost at Balambangan. If obstacles of too powerful a nature should once more render their attempts ineffectual, they would find a multitude of motives of consolation in Bengal.

Revolutions
that have
happened in
Bengal.

BENGAL is a vast country of Asia, bounded by the kingdoms of Asham and Arracan on the east; by several provinces belonging to the Great Mogul on the west; by dreadful rocks on the north, and by the sea on the south. It extends on both sides in the Ganges, which rises from different sources Thibet, and, after several windings through Mount Caucasus, penetrates into India, across the mountains on its frontier. This river, after having formed in its course a great number of large, fertile, and well peopled islands, discharges itself into the sea, by several mouths, of which only two are known and frequented.

TOWARDS the source of this river, was formerly a city called Palibothra. Its antiquity was so great, that Diodorus Siculus makes no scruple of assuring

assuring us that it was built by that Hercules, to whom the Greeks ascribed all the great and surprising actions that had been performed in the world. In Pliny's time, it's opulence was celebrated through the whole universe; and it was looked upon as the general mart for the people inhabiting both sides of the river that washed it's walls.

THE history of the revolutions that have happened in Bengal, is intermixed with so many fables, that it does not deserve our attention. All we can discover, is, that the extent of this empire has been sometimes greater and sometimes less; that it has had fortunate and unfortunate periods; and that it has already been formed into one single kingdom, or divided into several independent states. It was under the dominion of one master, when a more powerful tyrant Akbar, grandfather of Aurengzebe, undertook the conquest of it; which was begun in 1590, and completed in 1595. Since this æra, Bengal has always acknowledged the Mogul for it's sovereign. At first, the governor to whom the administration of it was intrusted, held his court at Rajamahul, but afterwards removed it to Dacca, Ever since the year 1718, it has been fixed at Muxadavad, a large inland town, two leagues distant from Cassimbuzar. There are several Nabobs and Rajahs subordinate to this viceroy, who is called Soubah.

THIS important post was occupied for a long time by the sons of the Great Mogul; but they so frequently made an improper use of the forces

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and treasure at their disposal, to raise disturbances in the empire, that it was thought proper to commit that province to men who had less influence, and were more dependent. The new governors, indeed, did not give any alarm to the court of Delhi; but they were far from being punctual in remitting the tribute they collected, to the royal treasury. These abuses gained further ground after the expedition of Kouli Khan; and matters were carried so far, that the emperor, who was unable to pay the Marattas what he owed them, authorised them, in 1740, to collect it in Bengal themselves. These banditti, divided into three armies, ravaged this fine country for ten years together, and did not leave it till they had extorted immense sums.

Antient
manners of
the Indians
still existing
in the Bif-
senpour.

DURING all these commotions, despotic government, which unhappily prevails throughout India, kept up it's influence in Bengal; though a small district in the province that had preserved it's independence, still continues to maintain it. This fortunate spot, which extends about a hundred and sixty miles, is called Bissenpour. It has been governed time immemorial by a Bramin family of the tribe of Rajahputs. Here it is that the purity and equity of the antient political system of the Indians is found unadulterated. This singular kind of government, the most beautiful and most interesting monument in the world, has hitherto been beholden with too much indifference. The only remains we have of antient nations, consist in monuments of brass and marble, which speak only to the imagination and to opinion, uncertain interpreters of

of manners and customs that no longer exist. BOOK
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Were a philosopher transported to Bissenpour, he would immediately be a witness of the life led by the first inhabitants of India many thousand years ago; he would converse with them; he would trace the progress of this nation, celebrated as it were from its very infancy; he would see the rise of a government, which being founded only on happy prejudices; on a simplicity and purity of manners, on the mildness of the people, and the integrity of the chiefs, has survived those innumerable systems of legislation, which have made only a transitory appearance upon the stage of the world with the generations they were destined to torment. More solid and durable than those political structures, which, raised by imposture and enthusiasm, are the scourges of mankind, and are doomed to perish with the extravagant opinions that gave them birth, the government of Bissenpour, the offspring of a just attention to order and the laws of nature, has been established and maintained upon unchangeable principles, and has undergone no more alteration than those principles themselves. The singular situation of this country has preserved to the inhabitants their primitive happiness and the gentleness of their character, by securing them from the danger of being conquered, or of imbruing their hands in the blood of their fellow-creatures. Nature has surrounded them with water; and they have only to open the sluices of their rivers in order to overflow the whole country. The armies sent to subdue them have so frequently been drowned, that the plan
of

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of enslaving them has been laid aside ; and the projectors of it have thought proper to content themselves with an appearance of submission.

LIBERTY and property are sacred in Bissenpour. Robbery, either public or private, is never heard of. As soon as any stranger enters the territory he comes under the protection of the laws, which provide for his security. He is furnished with guides at free cost, who conduct him from place to place, and are answerable for his person and effects. When he changes his conductors, the new ones deliver to those they relieve an attestation of their conduct, which is registered and afterwards sent to the Raja. All the time he remains in the country he is maintained and conveyed with his merchandise, at the expence of the state, unless he desires leave to stay longer than three days in the same place. In that case he is obliged to defray his own expences, unless he is detained by any illness or other unavoidable accident. This beneficence to strangers is the consequence of the warmth with which the citizens espouse each other's interests. They are so far from entertaining a thought of doing an injury to each other, that whoever finds a purse, or other thing of value, hangs it upon the first tree he meets with, and informs the nearest guard, who give notice of it to the public by beat of drum. These maxims of probity are so generally received, that they direct even the operations of government. It receives annually between seven and eight millions *, without injury to agriculture

* From 291,666 l. 13s. 4d. to 333,333 l. 6s. 8d.

or trade, and what is not wanted of this sum to supply the unavoidable expences of the state, is laid out in improvements. The Raja is enabled to engage in these humane employments, as he pays the Moguls only what tribute he thinks proper, and at the times he chuses.

READERS, whose feeling hearts have been transported with joy at this description of the simplicity of the manners, and of the government of Bissenpour! you, who, tired with the vices and disorders prevailing in your own country, have undoubtedly frequently left it in imagination, in order to behold the virtue, and share the happiness, of this little corner of Bengal, it is with regret that I am now going to destroy, perhaps, this most agreeable illusion, and pour the bitter cup of melancholy in your hearts; but truth compels me. Alas! this Bissenpour, and all that I have been saying about it, is, perhaps, nothing more than a fable.

I UNDERSTAND—With sorrow you exclaim: A fable. What! is there nothing but the evil that can be said of man, that is possible to be true? His misery, or his wretchedness, are they the only circumstances that are incontestible? This being, born as he is for virtue, the principle of which he would in vain attempt to stifle, which he never counteracts without remorse, and which he is obliged to respect, even when it distresses or humiliates him: notwithstanding all these circumstances, this being is prone to wickedness, in every part of the globe. He is incessantly panting after happiness, founded upon the basis of his
real

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real duties, and yet he is unhappy every where. Every where, he groans under the yoke of merciless rulers : every where, he torments his equals, or is tormented by them ; every where, he is corrupted by education, and poisoned from his birth by prejudice ; every where, he is devoured by ambition, agitated with the love of glory, or tormented with the thirst of gold ; while we are the sad victims of these fell executioners, who pursue us to the verge of the grave. Has vice then extended itself over the whole earth ? Alas ! let innocence be suffered at least to remain in this narrow spot, upon which our attention is fixed ; and which our imagination, carrying us over the immense space that is between us, delighted to dwell upon.

READER, I have experienced the same anxiety that you have. I have been led into the same reflections, when I found myself balanced between two authorities, almost of equal weight ; the one for, the other against, the existence of Bissenpour. We have in our favour the testimony of an English traveller, who has resided thirty years in Bengal. The testimony on the other side is also that of a traveller of the same nation, who has likewise lived for a considerable time in this country. Consider the matter, and make your own choice.

Produc-
tions, ma-
nufactures,
and exports
of Bengal.

ALTHOUGH the rest of Bengal be far from enjoying the same felicity, be it real or fabulous, as Bissenpour, it is nevertheless the richest and most populous province in the whole empire. Besides its own consumption, which is necessarily con-

siderable,

siderable, it's exports are immense. One part of it's merchandise is carried into the inland country. Thibet takes off a quantity of it's cottons, besides some iron and cloths of European manufacture. The inhabitants of those mountains fetch them from Patna themselves, and give musk and rhubarb in exchange.

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Musk is a production peculiar to Thibet. It is contained in a small bag of the size of a hen's egg, which grows in the shape of a bladder under the belly of a species of goat, between the navel and the genitals. In it's original state it is nothing more than putrid blood which coagulates in this bag. The largest bladder yields no more than half an ounce of musk. The smell of it is naturally so strong, that for common use, it is necessary to moderate it by mixing it with milder perfumes. The hunters, with a view of increasing their profits, contrived to take away part of the musk from the bladders, and to fill the vacuity with the liver and coagulated blood of the animal mixed together. The government, to put a stop to these fraudulent mixtures, ordered, that all the bladders, before they were sewed up, should be examined by inspectors, who should close them with their own hands, and seal them with the royal signet. This precaution has put a stop to the frauds practised to reduce the quality of the musk, but not to those which are calculated to increase the weight of it; they contrive to open the bags artfully and pour particles of lead into them.

THE trade of Thibet is nothing in comparison of that which Bengal carries on with Agra, Delhi, and

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and the provinces adjacent to those superb capitals, in salt, sugar, opium, silk, silk-stuffs, an infinite quantity of cottons, and particularly muslins. These articles, taken together, amounted formerly to more than forty millions a year*. So considerable a sum was not conveyed to the banks of the Ganges; but it was the means of retaining one nearly equal, which must have issued from thence to pay the duties, or for other purposes. Since the viceroys of the Mogul have made themselves nearly independent, and send him no revenues but such as they chuse to allow him, the luxury of the court is greatly abated, and the trade we have been speaking of is no longer so considerable.

THE maritime trade of Bengal managed by the natives of the country, has not suffered the same diminution, nor was it ever so extensive, as the other. It may be divided into two branches, of which Catek is in possession of the greater part.

CATEK is a district of some extent, a little below the most western mouth of the Ganges. Balasore, situated upon a navigable river, serves it for a port. The navigation to the Maldives, which the English and French have been obliged to abandon on account of the climate, is carried on entirely from this road. Here they load their vessels with rice, coarse cottons, and some silk-stuffs for these islands, and receive cowries in exchange, which are used for money in Bengal, and are sold to the Europeans.

* 1,666,666l. 13s. 4d.

THE inhabitants of Catek, and some other people of the Lower Ganges, maintain a considerable correspondence with the country of Asham. This kingdom, which is thought to have formerly made a part of Bengal, and is only divided from it by a river that falls into the Ganges, deserves to be better know'n, if what is asserted be true, that gunpowder has been discovered there, and that the discovery was communicated from Asham to Pegu, and from Pegu to China. It's gold, silver, iron and lead mines would have added to it's fame, if they had been properly worked. In the midst of these riches, which were of very little service to this kingdom, salt was an article of which the inhabitants were so much in want, that they were reduced to the expedient of procuring it from a decoction of certain plants.

IN the beginning of the present century, some Bramins of Bengal carried their superstitions to Asham, where the people were guided solely by the dictates of natural religion. The priests persuaded them, that it would be more agreeable to Brama if they substituted the pure and wholesome salt of the sea to that which they used. The sovereign consented to this, on condition that the exclusive trade should be in his hands; that it should only be brought by the people of Bengal, and that the boats laden with it should stop at the frontiers of his dominions. Thus have all these false religions been introduced by the influence and for the advantage of the priests who teach, and of the kings who admit them. Since this

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arrange-

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arrangement has taken place, forty vessels are annually sent from the Ganges to Asham, laden with salt, which yields near two hundred per cent. profit. They receive in payment a small quantity of gold and silver, ivory, musk, aloes-wood, gum-lac, and a large quantity of silk:

THIS silk, which is singular in it's kind, requires no care; it is found on the trees where the silk-worms are produced, nourished, and undergo their several metamorphoses. The inhabitants have no other trouble but that of collecting it. The neglected cods produce a new generation; during the growth of which, the tree puts forth new leaves, which serve successively for the nourishment of the young worms. These revolutions are repeated twelve times in a year; but do not produce so much in the rainy, as in the dry, seasons. The stuffs made of this silk have a great deal of lustre, but do not last long.

EXCEPTING these two branches of maritime trade, which, for particular reasons, have been confined to the natives of the country, the people of Bengal have been deprived of all others by the Europeans, and it was impossible it should be otherwise. How could a weak, cautious, and oppressed people, who sailed but slowly along the coasts, and with very small craft, successfully maintain a competition against these strangers, of an enterprising character, enjoying particular privileges even on the Ganges, and in all other parts, and bidding defiance to the tempestuous element upon their immense vessels? But in a country, where in general nothing is to be found
necessary

necessary for the building of ships, the docks of ^{B O O K} Pegu are the only resource which has been ^{III.} thought of to supply this deficiency.

PEGU is situated in the Gulph of Bengal, between the kingdoms of Arracon and Siam. Revolutions, which are so common in all the despotic empires of Asia, have been here more frequently repeated than in any other. It has alternately been the center of a great power, and a province to several states less extensive than itself. It is at present dependent upon Ava, where the Armenians alone buy up every thing that is furnished by Pegu, in topazes, sapphires, amethysts, and rubies.

THE only port of Pegu that is open to strangers is Syriam. The Portuguese were a long time masters of it. It then displayed a degree of splendour, which vanished with the prosperities of that nation. It was revived, when the Europeans, settled at Bengal, thought of constructing there the numerous vessels which the extent of their maritime connexions required: but it having been found that the materials employed there were of bad quality, it became necessary to give up this point, and the road fell again into obscurity. All the trade here at present is confined to the exchange of a few ordinary linens from the banks of the Ganges, or the coast of Coromandel, for wax, tin, and ivory.

A STILL more considerable branch of commerce, which the Europeans at Bengal carry on with the rest of India, is that of opium. Opium is the produce of the white poppy of the gardens,

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all the parts of which yield a milky juice. This plant, which perishes every year, has oblong and sinuate leaves, of a sea-green colour, alternately disposed upon a smooth stem, with very few branches, and three feet high. Each branch is almost naked, terminated by a single flower, rather large, composed of a calix with two leaves, four white on rose-coloured petals, and a great number of stamina, placed under the pistil, which they surround. The pistil grows into a large round seed vessel, ornamented with a radiated crown, and filled with a prodigious number of round, white, and oily seeds. When the poppy is full of sap, and that the head of it begins to swell, one or more incisions are made into it, from whence distil some drops of the milky liquor contained within, which is left to congeal, and is afterwards gathered. This operation is repeated three times; but the produce gradually diminishes in quantity, nor is it of so good a quality. When the opium is gathered, it is moistened and kneaded with water or honey, till it acquires the consistence, viscosity, and glossiness of pitch, when it is well prepared, and is then made into small cakes. That kind is most in esteem which is rather soft, and yields to the touch, is inflammable, of a blackish-brown colour, and has a strong foetid smell; on the contrary, that which is dry, friable, burnt, and mixed with earth and sand, is to be throw'n away. According to the different manner of preparing it, and the doses in which it is given, it stupifies, excites agreeable ideas, or occasions madness.

THE meconium, or common opium, is prepared by pressing the poppy heads that have been already cut. The juice which comes out of them, mixed with the least beautiful of the other drops, is kneaded with water, and made into cakes, which are sent to Europe. As it is often adulterated, it is purified before it is used. BOOK
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The province of Bahar is the country in the universe where the poppy is most cultivated. The fields are covered with it. Beside the opium which is carried into the inland parts, there are annually six hundred thousand pounds weight exported. This opium is not purified like that of Syria and Persia, which we make use of in Europe; it is only a paste that has undergone no preparation, and has not a tenth part of the virtue of the other.

AN excessive fondness for opium prevails in all the countries to the east of India. In vain have the laws of China condemned to the flames every vessel that imports, and every house that receives it; the consumption is not the less considerable. It is still greater at Malacca, Borneo, the Moluccas, Java, Macassar, Sumatra, and all the islands of this immense Archipelago. These islanders smoke it with their tobacco. Those who are desirous of attempting some desperate action, intoxicate themselves with this smoke. In this intoxication they fall upon the first object that presents itself; upon a man whom they have never seen, as well as upon their most implacable enemy. These atrocious acts have not convinced the Dutch, who are masters of the places where

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the opium has the most dangerous consequences, of the necessity of putting a stop to, or even restraining the use of it. Rather than deprive themselves of the considerable profit they derived from the sale of it, they have authorised all the citizens to massacre those who, being disordered with opium, appear in the streets armed. Thus it is that some systems of legislation introduce and keep up dangerous passions and opinions; and when once these have prevailed among the people, nothing can be thought of but death or tortures to put an end to them.

THE English, who take as great a share in this odious commerce as they possibly can, have other branches more peculiar to themselves. They carry rice and sugar to the coast of Coromandel, for which they are paid with metals. They carry to Malabar linens, which they exchange for spices; and to Surat silks, which they barter for cotton. They carry rice, gum-lac, and linens, to the Persian Gulph, from whence they receive dried fruits, rose-water, and especially gold. They carry rich and various cargoes to the Red Sea, which furnishes little else than silver. These several connections with the different parts of India, bring in annually to Bengal, from five and twenty to thirty millions of livres*.

THOUGH this trade passes through the hands of the Europeans, and is carried on under their protection, it is not entirely on their own account. The Moguls, indeed, who are usually

* From 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d. to 1,250,000l.

confined to the places they hold under the government, have seldom any concern in these expeditions; but the Armenians, who, since the revolutions in Persia, are settled upon the banks of the Ganges, to which they formerly only made voyages, readily throw their capitals into this trade. The Indians employ still larger sums in it. The impossibility of enjoying their fortunes under an oppressive government, does not deter the natives of this country from labouring incessantly to increase them. As they would run too great a risque by engaging openly in trade, they are obliged to have recourse to clandestine methods. As soon as a European arrives, the Gentooes, who know mankind better than is commonly supposed, study his character: and if they find him frugal, active, and well informed, offer to act as his brokers and cashiers, and lend or procure him money upon bottomry, or at interest. This interest, which is usually nine per cent. at least, is higher, when he is under a necessity of borrowing of the Cheyks.

THESE Cheyks are a family of Indians, possessed of great power, who have, from time immemorial, lived on the banks of the Ganges. Their riches have long ago procured them the management of the bank belonging to the court, the farming of the public revenue, and the direction of the money, which they coin afresh every year, in order to receive annually the benefit arising from the mint. By uniting so many advantages, they are enabled to lend the government forty*,

* 1,666,666l. 13s. 4d.

B O O K sixty*, or even a hundred millions † at a time:
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When the government finds it impossible to refund the money, or will not do it, the Cheyks are allowed to indemnify themselves by oppressing the people. That so prodigious a capital should be preserved in the center of tyranny, and in the midst of revolutions, appears incredible. It is not possible to conceive how such a structure could be raised, much less how it could be supported for so long a time. To explain this mystery, it must be observed, that this family has always maintained a superior influence at the court of Delhi; that the Nabobs and Rajahs in Bengal are dependent upon it; that those who are about the person of the Subah have constantly been it's creatures; and that the Subah himself has been maintained or dethroned by the intrigues of this family. To this we may add, that the different branches of it, and the wealth belonging to them, being dispersed, it has never been possible to do them so much mischief, but that they have been always left with more resources than were necessary to enable them to pursue their revenge to the utmost extreme. Their despotism extended itself even over the Europeans who had settled factories in this country; and who indeed presented themselves to the yoke, by borrowing of these rapacious financiers immense sums, at an apparent interest of ten per cent. but in effect of more than twelve, from the difference there was between the money they received, and that which they had to return.

* 2,500,000l.

† 4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.

THE Portuguese, who landed at Bengal a long time before the other navigators of Europe, formed a settlement at Chatigan, a port situated upon the frontier of Arracan, not far from the most eastern branch of the Ganges. The Dutch, who, without incurring the resentment of an enemy at that time so formidable, were desirous of sharing in their good fortune, were engaged in searching for a port, which, without obstructing their plan, would expose them the least to hostilities. In 1603, their attention was directed to Balasore; and all their rivals, rather through imitation than in consequence of any well concerted schemes, followed their example. Experience taught these merchants the propriety of fixing as near as possible to the different markets from whence their rich cargoes came; and they sailed up that branch of the Ganges, which, after having separated itself from the main river at Mourcha, falls into the sea, under the name of the river Hughly. The government of the country permitted them to erect warehouses wherever there was plenty of manufactures; and it even very imprudently allowed the liberty of erecting fortifications upon the banks of the river.

On going up the river, we first meet with the English settlement at Calcutta, where the air is unwholesome, and the anchorage unsafe. Notwithstanding these inconveniences, this town, to which liberty and security had successively attracted many rich Armenian, Moorish, and Indian merchants, has increased it's population in latter times to six hundred thousand souls. On the

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land side, it would be entirely open to the enemy, if there were any there, or if they were to be feared: but Fort Williams, which is only at the distance of half a mile, would defend it against any forces sent from Europe to attack or bombard it. It is a regular octagon, with eight bastions, several counter-guards, and some half-moons, without either a glacis or covered-way. The ditch of this place, which has cost more than twenty millions*, may be about one hundred and sixty feet wide, and eighteen feet deep.

Six leagues higher is situated Frederic Nagore, founded by the Danes in 1756, in order to supply the place of an antient settlement, where they had not been able to maintain their ground. This new establishment has not yet acquired any importance, and there is all the reason imaginable to believe, that it will never become considerable.

CHANDERNAGORE, which lies two leagues and an half higher, belongs to the French. It has the disadvantage of being somewhat exposed on the western side; but it's harbour is excellent, and the air is as pure as it can be on the banks of the Ganges. Whenever any building is undertaken that requires strength, it must here, as well as in all other parts of Bengal, be built upon piles; it being impossible to dig to three or four feet deep without coming at water. We find upon this district, which is hardly a league in circumference, some few manufacturers, whom persecution has driven here, as into the other European factories.

* 833,333l. 6s. 8d.

At the distance of a mile from Chandernagore, is Chinsura, better know'n by the name of Hugley, being situated near the suburbs of that antiently renowned city. The Dutch have no other possessions there, but merely their fort; the territory round it, depending on the government of the country, which hath frequently made it feel it's power by it's extortions. Another inconvenience attending this settlement is a sand-bank that prevents ships from coming up to it; they proceed no further than Tulta, which is twenty miles below Calcutta, and this of course occasions an additional expence to the government.

THE Portuguese had formerly made Bandel, which is eighty leagues from the mouth of the Ganges, and a quarter of a league above Hughley, the principal seat of their commerce. Their flag is still displayed, and there are a few unhappy wretches remaining there, who have forgotten their country, after having been forgotten by it.

EXCEPT in the months of October, November, and December, when the frequent and almost continued hurricanes render the Gulph of Bengal impracticable, European ships may enter the Ganges during the remainder of the year. Those that design to go up the river, previously touch at Point Palmiras, where they are received by pilots of their own nation, who reside at Balasore. The money they convey is put on board some sloops, called bots, of between sixty and a hundred tons burthen, which always precede the ships. The passage into the river Hughley lies through a narrow

BOOK row strait between two sand-banks. The ships

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used formerly to come to an anchor at Culpy, but time has worn off the dread of those currents, quicksands, and shoals, that seemed to choke up the navigation of the river, and the ships have been brought up to their respective places of destination. This boldness has occasioned many shipwrecks; but in proportion as more experience has been gained, and the spirit of observation has been carried further, accidents of that kind have been less frequent. It is to be hoped that the example of admiral Watson, who sailed as high as Chandernagore in a seventy-gun ship, will not be forgotten; as a proper attention to it would save a great deal of time, trouble, and expence.

BESIDE this great channel, there is another, by which goods may be brought from the places which furnish them, to the principal settlement of each Company. For this purpose, a number of small fleets are employed, consisting of eighty or a hundred vessels, and sometimes more. These are manned with black or white soldiers, in order to check the insatiable avarice of the Nabobs and Rajas they meet with in their passage. The goods purchased in the higher parts of the Ganges, at Patna and Cassimbuzar, are carried down the river Hughley: those purchased near the other branches of the Ganges, which are all navigable in the interior parts of the country, and communicate with each other, especially towards the lower division of that river, are conveyed into the Hughley by Rangasowla and Baratola, about fifteen or
twenty

twenty leagues from the sea. From thence they are carried up the stream to the principal settlement belonging to each nation. BOOK
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THE exports from Bengal to Europe consist of musk, gum-lac, nicaragua-wood, pepper, cowries, and some other articles of less importance brought thither from other places. Those that are the immediate produce of the country are borax, saltpetre, silk, silk-stuffs, muslins, and several different sorts of cottons.

THE borax, which is found in the province of Patna, is a saline substance, which the chymists in Europe have in vain attempted to counterfeit. Some of them consider it as an alkaline salt, which is found completely formed in the rich country of Indostān; others will have it to be the produce of volcanoes, or subterraneous fires.

BE this as it may, the borax is of great use in the working of metals by facilitating their fusion and purification. This substance being quickly vitrified by the action of fire, attracts the heterogeneous particles that are intermixed with these metals, and reduces them to dross. The borax is likewise absolutely necessary in the assaying of ores, and the folding of metals. The Dutch alone have the secret of refining it, which is said to have been communicated to them by some Venetian families that came to seek that liberty in the United Provinces which they did not enjoy under the tyranny of their own aristocratical government.

SALTPETRE is likewise the produce of Patna. It is extracted from a clay, which is either black, whitish, or red. The manner of refining it is by digging

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digging a large pit, in which the nitrous earth is deposited, and diluted with a quantity of water, which is kept stirred till it comes to a consistency. The water having draw'n out all the salts, and the grosser parts subsiding at the bottom, the more fluid particles are taken out and put into another pit not so large as the former. This substance having undergone a second purification, the clear water that swims on the top, and is totally impregnated with nitre, is taken off, and boiled in caldrons; it is skimmed while it is boiling, and, in a few hours, a nitrous salt is obtained infinitely superior to any that is found elsewhere. The Europeans export about ten millions of pounds for the use of their settlements in Asia, or for home consumption in their respective countries. It is bought upon the spot for three sols a pound*, at the most, and is sold again to us for ten †, at the least.

CASSIMBUZAR, which is grown rich by the ruin of Malda and Rajamahall, is the general market for Bengal silk, the greatest part of which is supplied from that territory. The silk-worms are brought up and fed there in the same manner as in other places; but the heat of the climate hatches them, and brings them to perfection at all times of the year. A great many stuffs, made entirely of silk, or of silk and cotton mixed, are manufactured here. The first of these are mostly consumed at Delhi, or in our northern regions, the rest in several countries of Asia. With regard to the unwrought silk, the quantity consumed in

* 1d. $\frac{1}{2}$

† 5d.

the European manufacture may be be estimat- BOOK
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ed at three or four hundred pounds weight : but
for a few years past, the English carry away
great quantities of it for their own use, and that
of other nations ; it is in general a very com-
mon sort, ill twisted, and takes no gloss in dying.
It is of little use except for the wool in brocades.

Cotton is brought to much greater perfection ;
it is fit for every thing, and is usefully employed
in a variety of different manufactures, which are
consumed over the whole globe. That for which
there is the most universal demand, and which
more particularly comes from Bengal, is plain,
striped, or worked muslin. It is easily manufact-
ured in the rainy season, because then the mate-
rials are more flexible, and don't break so readily.
The weavers, during the rest of the year, sup-
ply, as much as possible, this moisture in the air,
by vessels full of water, which they take care to
put under their looms.

ALTHOUGH the manufactures in which the cot-
tons are prepared, are dispersed throughout the
greatest part of Bengal, Dacca may be consider-
ed as the general market of them. 'Till of late,
Delhi and Muxadavad were furnished from thence
with the cottons wanted for their own consump-
tion. They each of them maintain an agent on
the spot to superintend the manufacture of them ;
who has an authority, independent of the magi-
strate, over all the workmen, whose business has
any relation to the object of his commission. It
was a misfortune to them to appear too dexterous,
because they were then forced to work only for

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the government, which paid them ill, and kept them in a sort of captivity. When the caprices of tyranny were satisfied, Europeans, other strangers, and natives, were allowed to begin their purchases: but still they were obliged to employ brokers established by the ministry, and as corrupt as they were. These restraints and rigours put an end to industry, the child of necessity, but the companion of liberty.

THE revolutions which have given new sovereigns to Bengal, ought to have introduced other maxims. Nevertheless, we do not see that the works that come from thence, are more perfect than they were before that period. It is possible that those who fabricate them, may not really have experienced any change of condition. When they ceased to be the slaves of their Nabobs, they fell perhaps under a yoke equally oppressive.

ALL the purchases made in Bengal by the European nations, amounted, a few years ago, to no more than 20,000,000 of livres*. One-third of this sum was paid in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and Dutch spices: the remainder was discharged in money. Since the English have made themselves masters of this rich country, it's exports have been increased, and it's imports diminished, because the conquerors have carried away a greater quantity of merchandise, and have paid for it out of the revenues they receive from the country. There is reason to believe, that this revolution in the trade of Bengal has not arrived at it's crisis, and that sooner or later it

* 833,333l. 6s. 8d.

will be attended with more important consequences and effects.

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What opinion may be formed of the English settlement at St. Helena.

To maintain their intercourse with this vast country, and their other Asiatic settlements, the English Company have fixed upon St. Helena as a place of refreshment. This island, which is only twenty-eight miles in circumference, is situated in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, at the distance of four hundred leagues from the coast of Africa, and six hundred from that of America. It is an irregular mass of rocks and mountains, where at every step we meet with evident traces of an extinguished volcano. It was discovered in 1602 by the Portuguese, who paid no attention to it. The Dutch afterwards formed a small settlement upon the island, which they were dispossessed of by the English, who have been fixed there ever since the year 1673.

Upon this barren and wild soil, a population has gradually been formed, of twenty thousand souls, freemen or slaves. Here, as well as at the Cape of Good Hope, the number of females born exceeds greatly that of males. If it were proved, by accurate calculations, that the process of nature is the same in all hot countries, this information would account for the public manners, and the private customs, of the people that dwell there.

NONE of the fruit trees exported from our climates to St. Helena have succeeded, except the peach tree. The vine has not prospered there; and the vegetables have been constantly devoured by insects; while a small quantity only
of

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of the corn is preserved from the attacks of the mice. The breeding of horned cattle has been the only resource; and it is even only after the loss of a great number, that the propagation has been successful.

THE climate destroyed every species of seed that was sown by the cultivator. The idea was then suggested of planting shrubs, which could neither be injured by the heat, nor by the dryness of the soil, and under their shade, a fresh and wholesome green sod made its appearance. This grass, however, has never been able to feed more than three thousand oxen at a time; a number insufficient for the wants of the inhabitants, and of the navigators. This deficiency might perhaps be supplied, by having recourse to artificial meadows, which intelligent travellers believe to be practicable in the present state of things. But this plan will not be easily pursued, unless the mother country should make a sacrifice of the best lands, which have been apparently reserved for its service, although in reality they are only kept for the advantage or the caprices of its agents.

THE houses that surround the harbour, scattered, as it were, by the hand of chance, give the idea rather of a camp than of a town. The fortifications that surround them are inconsiderable; and the garrison appointed to defend them, consists only of five hundred soldiers, all dissatisfied with their situation. The colony has but few refreshments, and some oxen to give to the ships, in exchange for the provisions and merchandise they bring from Europe and Asia. Accordingly, fish

is

is the ordinary food of the blacks there, and makes great part of the nourishment of the white men. BOOK
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SUCH is, according to the strictest truth, the state of St. Helena, where the ships put in on their return from India to England, and where, in time of war, they find a convoy. The outward bound ships are even repulsed from there by the winds and currents. To avoid the inconveniences attending so long a voyage, made without stopping, several of them put in at the Cape of Good Hope; the rest, particularly those which are destined for the Malabar coast, take in refreshments at the islands of Comora.

THESE islands, that lie in the Mozambique channel, between the coast of Zanguebar and Madagascar, are four in number: Comora, the principal one, from which this small archipelago takes its name, is little known. The Portuguese, who discovered it in the course of their first expeditions, brought the name of Europeans into such detestation by their cruelties, that all who have since ventured to go on shore there, have either been massacred or very ill treated. It has accordingly been quite forsaken. The islands of Mayota and Moely, are not more frequented, on account of the difficulty of approaching them, and the want of a safe anchorage. The English vessels put in at the island of Joanna.

The use the
English
make of the
islands of
Comora.

HERE it is that, within the compass of thirty leagues, nature displays all her riches, with all her simplicity. Hills that are ever green, and vallies that are always gay, every where present a variety

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of delightful landscapes. Thirty thousand inhabitants, distributed into seventy-three villages, share it's productions. They speak the Arabic language, and their religion is a very corrupt sort of Mohammedism; their moral principles are more refined than they usually are in this part of the globe. The habit they have contracted of living upon milk and vegetables has given them an unconquerable aversion for labour. This laziness is the cause of a particular air of consequence, which consists, among persons of distinction, in suffering the nails to grow to an immoderate length. In order that this negligence may have the appearance of beauty, they tinge their nails with a yellowish red, which they extract from a shrub.

THESE people, born to be indolent, have lost that liberty which they, doubtless, came hither to enjoy from a neighbouring continent, of which they were the original inhabitants. An Arabian trader, not quite a century ago, having killed a Portuguese gentleman at Mozambique, threw himself into a boat, which chance conducted to Joanna. This stranger made such good use of his superior abilities, and the assistance of a few of his countrymen, that he acquired an absolute authority, which is still maintained by his grandson. The change in the government did not in the least diminish the liberty and security enjoyed by the English, who landed upon the island. They continued to put their sick on shore without molestation, where the wholesomeness of the air, the excellence of the fruits, provisions, and water, soon restored them

them to health. They were only obliged to give a higher price for the provisions they wanted, for which the following reasons may be assigned :

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THE Arabians having been induced to frequent an island governed by an Arab, have brought the Indian manufactures into vogue; and as the cowries, cocoa-nuts, and other commodities they received in exchange, were not sufficient to defray the expence of this article of luxury, the islanders have been obliged to demand money for their goats and poultry, which they before exchanged for glass beads, and other trifles of as little value. This innovation has not, however, made the English desert a place of refreshment, which has no other inconvenience, than that of being at too great a distance from our latitudes.

A SIMILAR inconvenience did not prevent the English Company from extending their trade very considerably. The intercourse carried on between one port of India and another was too confined, and of too little consequence, to engage their attention for any length of time. They were soon sufficiently enlightened to perceive that it was not for their interest to continue this kind of commerce. Their agents undertook it, with the consent of the Company, upon their own account; and all the English were invited to share it, upon condition of entering into a bond for 45,000 livres*, as a security for their good behaviour. To facilitate and hasten the prosperity which was one day to increase their own, the Company en-

The English Company leave the country trade to private adventurers.

* 1,875l.

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couraged these traders, by taking a share in their expeditions, and by giving them an interest in their own fleets, and frequently even undertaking to be the carriers of their merchandise at a low freight. This generous behaviour resulting from a national spirit, and so diametrically opposite to the spirit of monopoly, soon gave activity, strength, and credit, to the English settlements.

PRIVATE trade has increased with the prosperities of the power that supports it, and has contributed in it's turn to give that power more solidity. It employs at present three considerable capitals, and about two hundred vessels, from fifty to two hundred tons burthen, which have all Indian sailors on board. The number of them would still have been increased, if the Company had not exacted, in all it's factories, a tax of five per cent. on all articles of free trade, and one of eight and a half per cent. on all remittances which the agents of this traffic wished to make to the mother country. When their necessities did not compel them to remit part of these unreasonable demands, these particular funds were given up to other European merchants, or to English officers, who, not being strictly dependent upon the Company, could traffic for themselves in the voyages they undertook for them.

Restraints
experienced
by the Com-
pany in their
trade: Ca-
pital they
bestowed
upon it; and
degree of
extension
they gave it.

If individuals were oppressed by the mother country, that was confined in it's turn by the regulations of the treasury. The ships of the Company were always to return into an English port; and those which brought prohibited merchandise, to London. By a singular regulation, unworthy

unworthy of a commercial people, and which it has always been found necessary to break through, they were allowed to send into India no more than 6,750,000 livres* in money. They were obliged to export, in merchandise of the country, to ten times the value of what they sent in specie. All the productions of Asia, that were consumed by the nation, were to pay five and twenty per cent. to the public treasury, and some a great deal more.

ALTHOUGH the ignorance, or the capacity of the different administrators; the events of peace and war; the prosperity or the misfortunes of the mother country; the greater or less demand for Indian manufactures in Europe; and the degree of competition experienced from other nations, may have had considerable influence on the number and utility of the Company's expeditions: yet it may be said, that their commerce has been more extensive and prosperous, in proportion to the increase of their capital. At first, it consisted only of 1,620,000 livres†. This trifling fund was gradually increased, by that share of the profits that was not subject to a dividend, and by the sums, more or less considerable, throw'n in by new proprietors. It had arisen to 8,322,547 livres, ten sols‡, when, in 1676, the directors thought it better to double it, than to order an immense dividend, which their success enabled them to make. This capital continued increasing, till the two Companies that had so obstinately opposed each other, threw

* 281,250l.

† 67,500l.

‡ 346,772l. 16s. 3d.

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their wealth, their plans, and their expectations, into one common stock. It has since risen to 67,500,000 livres*. With this capital the provisions and merchandise which India furnishes in so great abundance, were bought. These were consumed in Great Britain, in it's African factories, in it's colonies of the New World, and in several parts of Europe. In process of time tea became one of the great objects of this trade.

THIS herb was introduced into England by the Lords Arlington and Ossory, who imported it from Holland in 1666, and their ladies brought it into fashion among people of their own rank. At that time it sold in London for near seventy livres † a pound, though it cost but three or four ‡ at Batavia. Notwithstanding the price was kept up with very little variation, the taste for this liquor gained ground; it was not, however, brought into common use till towards the year 1715, when green tea began to be drunk, whereas till then no sort was know'n but the bohea. The fondness for this Asiatic plant has since become universal. Perhaps, the phrenzy is not without it's inconveniences; but it cannot be denied, that it has contributed more to the sobriety of the nation than the severest laws, the most eloquent harangues of christian orators, or the best treatises of morality.

IN 1766 six millions of pounds of tea were brought from China by the English, four millions five hundred thousand by the Dutch, two millions

* 2,812,500l. † 2l. 18s. 4d. ‡ From 2s. 6d. to 3s. 4d.

four hundred thousand by the Swedes, the same quantity by the Danes, and two millions one hundred thousand by the French. The whole of these quantities amounted to seventeen millions four hundred thousand pounds. The preference given by most nations to chocolate, coffee, and other liquors, joined to a series of observations carefully pursued for several years, and the most exact calculations that can possibly be made in such complicated cases, inclines us to think that the whole consumption throughout Europe did not exceed, at that period, five millions four hundred thousand pounds. In this case, that of Great Britain must have been of twelve millions.

It is universally allowed, that there are at least two millions of people in the mother-country, and a million in the colonies, which constantly drink tea. Each individual consumed about four pounds in a year; and each pound, including the taxes, was sold, one with another, for six livres ten sols *. According to this calculation, the price of this commodity must have amounted to seventy-two millions of livres †; but this was not exactly the case; because half the quantity was smuggled, and therefore cost the nation much less.

THE war between Great-Britain and North America, has obliged the Company to diminish it's imports of tea. But this circumstance has not affected their trade. The deficiency has been supplied by a greater quantity of silks furnished by China and Bengal, and by the increase they

* 5s. 5d. † 3,000,000 l.

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have given to the sales they commonly used to make of the productions and manufactures of Coromandel and Malabar. Their chief resource, however, has been the conquest of Bengal, an event rather of a recent date.

Conquest of
Bengal.
How, and
by whom it
was made.

SHOULD it be asked, Whether this astonishing revolution, which has had so sensible an influence, both upon the fate of the inhabitants of this part of Asia, and upon the trade of the European nations in these climates, hath been the consequence and result of a series of political combinations; or whether it be one of those events, of which prudence has a right to boast; we shall answer in the negative. Chance alone has determined it: and the circumstances that have opened this field of glory and power to the English, far from promising them the success they have had, seemed on the contrary to threaten them with the most fatal reverse of fortune.

A PERNICIOUS custom had for some time prevailed in these countries. The governors of all the European settlements took upon them to grant an asylum to such of the natives of the country as were afraid of oppression or punishment. As they received very considerable sums in return for their protection, they overlooked the danger to which the interests of their principals were exposed by this proceeding. One of the chief officers of Bengal, who was apprized of this resource, took refuge among the English at Calcutta to avoid the punishment due to his treachery. He was taken under their protection. The subah, justly irritated, put himself at the head

head of his army, attacked the place, and took it. He threw the garrison into a close dungeon, where they were suffocated in the space of twelve hours. Three and twenty of them only remained alive. These wretched people offered large sums to the keeper of their prison, to prevail upon him to get their deplorable situation represented to the prince. Their cries and lamentations were sufficient informations to the people, who were touched with compassion; but no one would venture to address the despotic monarch upon the subject. The expiring English were told that he was ASLEEP; and there was not, perhaps, a single person in Bengal who thought that the tyrant's slumbers should be interrupted for one moment, even to preserve the lives of one hundred and fifty unfortunate men.

WHAT then is a tyrant? Or rather, what are a people accustomed to the yoke of, tyranny? Is it respect, or fear, that makes them bend under it? If it be fear, the tyrant then is more formidable than God, to whom man addresses his prayers, or his complaints, at all times of the night, or at every hour of the day. If it be respect, mankind may then be brought even to revere the authors of their misery, a prodigy which superstition alone could accomplish. Which is it that astonishes us most; the ferocity of the Nabob who sleeps, or the meanness of him who dares not awake him?

ADMIRAL Watson, who was just arrived in India with his squadron, and Colonel Clive who had so remarkably distinguished himself in the war

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war of the Carnatic, did not delay to avenge the cause of their country. They collected the English who had been dispersed, and were flying from place to place; they went up the Ganges in the month of December 1756, retook Calcutta, made themselves masters of several other places, and gained a complete victory over the subah.

A success so rapid and extensive becomes in a manner inconceivable, when we consider that it was only with a body of five hundred men that the English were acting against the whole force of Bengal. But if their superiority was partly owing to their better discipline, and to other evident advantages that the Europeans have in battle over the Indian powers; the ambition of eastern chiefs, the avarice of their ministers, and the nature of a government which has no other springs but those of the interest of the moment, and fear, were of still more effectual service to them; they availed themselves of the concurrence of these several circumstances in this first, as well as in every succeeding enterprize. The subah was detested by all his people, as tyrants generally are; the principal officers sold their interest to the English; he was betrayed at the head of his army, the greatest part of which refused to engage; and he himself fell into the hands of his enemies, who caused him to be strangled in prison.

THEY disposed of the subahship in favour of Jaffier-Ally-Khan, the ringleader of the conspiracy; who ceded to the company some provinces, with a grant of every privilege, exemption, and
favour,

favour, to which they could have any pretension. B O O K
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But soon growing weary of the yoke he had imposed upon himself, he was secretly contriving the means to free himself from it. His designs were discovered, and he was taken prisoner in the center of his own capital.

Cossim-ALLY-KHAN, his son-in-law, was proclaimed in his stead. He had purchased this usurpation with immense sums. But he did not enjoy it long. Impatient of the yoke, as his predecessor had been, he gave some tokens of his disposition, and refused to submit to the laws the Company imposed upon him. The war immediately broke out again. The same Jaffier-Ally-Khan, whom the English kept in confinement, was again proclaimed subah of Bengal. They marched against Cossim-Ally-Khan. His general officers were corrupted: he was betrayed and entirely defeated: too happy, that while he lost his dominions, he still preserved the immense treasures he had amassed.

NOTWITHSTANDING this revolution, Cossim-Ally did not forego his hopes of vengeance. Fired with resentment, he went, with all his riches, to the nabob of Bennares, chief vizir of the Mogul empire. This nabob, and all the neighbouring princes, united themselves against the common enemy: but the contest at present was not with a handful of Europeans from the coast of Coromandel; but with all the forces of Bengal, of which the English were masters. Elated with their success, they did not wait to be attacked; they marched immediately to oppose this formidable

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dable league; and they marched with that confidence which Clive inspired them with; a leader, whose name seemed to have become the pledge of victory. Clive, however, would not hazard an engagement. Part of the campaign was spent in negotiations; but at length the treasures which the English had already draw'n from Bengal, served to ensure them new conquests. The heads of the Indian army were corrupted; and when the nabob of Bennares was desirous of coming to action, he was obliged to fly with his men, without ever being able to engage.

By this victory, the country of Bennares fell into the hands of the English: and it seemed as if nothing could hinder them from annexing that sovereignty to that of Bengal: but either from motives of moderation or prudence, they were content to levy eight millions* by contribution; and they offered peace to the nabob on conditions which would render him incapable of doing them any injury: but, such as they were, he most readily agreed to them, that he might regain the possession of his dominions.

In the midst of these calamities, Cossim-Ally Khan still found means to preserve part of his treasures, and retired to the Seiks, a people situated in the neighbourhood of Delhi, from whence he made an attempt to procure some allies, and to raise up enemies against the English.

WHILE these things were passing in Bengal, the Mogul emperor having been driven from Delhi

by the Pattans, who had proclaimed his son in his room, was wandering from one province to another in search of a place of refuge in his own territories, and vainly requesting succour from his own vassals. Abandoned by his subjects, betrayed by his allies, without support, and without an army, he was struck by the power of the English, and implored their protection; they promised to conduct him to Delhi, and reinstate him on his throne; but they insisted that he should previously cede to them the absolute sovereignty over Bengal. This cession was made by an authentic act, and attended with all the formalities usually practised throughout the Mogul empire.

THE English, possessed of this title, which was to give a kind of legitimacy to their usurpation in the eyes of the people, soon forgot the promises they had made. They gave the Mogul to understand, that particular circumstances would not suffer them to engage in such an enterprise; that they must wait for more favourable times; and they assigned him a place of residence, and a revenue to subsist upon. The Mogul empire was then divided between two emperors; one acknowledged in the several districts of India, where the English Company had any establishments and authority; the other in the provinces bordering on Delhi, and in those parts to which the influence of that Company did not extend.

THE English, thus become sovereigns of Bengal, have thought it incumbent on them to keep up the shadow of ancient forms, in a country, where

BOOK III. } where they are the greatest, and, perhaps, the only power, that is likely to be secure and lasting. They governed the kingdom, and received the revenues of it, under the name of a subah, who, while he was at their disposal, and in their pay, seemed to give his own orders. It is from him that all the public acts and decrees, which had really been deliberated in the council of Calcutta, appeared to proceed; so that the people, notwithstanding their change of masters, have for a considerable time been induced to believe, that they were still under the same yoke.

STRANGE indignity, to wish to exercise oppression, without appearing unjust; to be desirous of reaping the fruits of one's rapine, and to throw the odium of it upon another. Not to blush at acts of tyranny, and yet to blush at the name of tyrant. How wicked is man, and how much more flagitious would he be, if he could be convinced that his crimes would remain unknown, and that the punishment or ignominy of them, would fall upon an innocent person.

THE conquest of Bengal, the boundaries of which have since that period been extended, as far as that heap of mountains which separate the Thibet and Tartary from Indostan, without making any essential alteration in the external form of the English Company, has produced a material change in the object of it. They are no longer a commercial society, they are a territorial power which make the most of their revenues, by the assistance of a traffic that formerly was their sole existence, and which, notwithstanding the extension

sion it has received, is no more than an accessory **B O O K**
in the various combinations of their present real **III.**
grandeur.

THE arrangements intended to give stability to a situation so prosperous, are, perhaps, the most reasonable that can be. England has at present in India an establishment to the amount of nine thousand eight hundred European troops, and fifty-four thousand sipahis, well payed, well armed, and well disciplined. Three thousand of these Europeans, and twenty-five thousand sipahis are dispersed along the borders of the Ganges.

Measures
taken by the
English to
maintain
themselves
in Bengal.

THE most considerable body of these troops has been stationed in Bennes, once the source of Indian science, and still the most famous academy of these rich countries, where European avarice pays no respect to any thing. This situation has been chosen, because it appeared favourable for stopping the progress of those warlike people who might descend from the mountains of the north; and in case of attack, the maintaining of a war in a foreign territory would be less ruinous than in the countries of which the company is to receive the revenues. On the south, as far as it has been found practicable, they have occupied all the narrow passes by which an enterprising and active enemy might attempt to penetrate into the province. Dacca, which is in the center of it, has under its walls a considerable force, always ready to march wherever its presence may be necessary. All the nabobs and rajahs who are dependent on the subahship of Bengal, are disarmed, surrounded, by spies in order to discover

cover their conspiracies; and by troops, to render them ineffectual.

IN case of any unfortunate revolution which might oblige the victorious power to change it's situation, and abandon it's posts, the English have constructed a fort near Calcutta called Fort William, which, in times of urgent necessity, would serve as a place of refuge for the army, should they be forced to retreat, and give time to wait for the necessary reinforcements for the recovery of their superiority.

NOTWITHSTANDING the wise precautions taken by the English, they are not, and cannot be, without apprehensions. The Mogul power may gain strength, and wish to rescue one of it's finest provinces out of the hands of a foreign oppressor. They have reason to fear that the barbarous nations may be again attracted by the softness of the climate. The princes now at variance may, perhaps, put an end to their contests, and reunite in favour of their common liberty. It is not impossible but that the Indians, who at present constitute the chief force of the victorious English, may one day turn against them those arms of which they have taught them the use. Their grandeur, which is but imaginary, may, perhaps, moulder away without their being actually driven from what they possess. It is well known that the Marattas have always their attention fixed upon this beautiful country, and are constantly threatening it with invasion. Unless the English are successful enough, either by bribery or intrigue, to divert this dangerous storm, Bengal will be the object

object of their pillage and rapine, whatever measures may be taken to oppose a light cavalry, the alertness of which exceeds every thing that can be said of it. The incursions of these plunderers may be repeated; and then the Company will have less tribute to receive, and their expences will be increased.

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SUPPOSING, however, that none of the misfortunes we have ventured to foresee, should take place, is it likely that the revenues of Bengal, which, in 1773, arose to 71,004,465 livres*, but of which 61,379,437 livres ten sols † have been absorbed by plunder, or the necessary expences, should always continue the same? This is, at least, a matter of doubt. The English Company no longer export any coin, but even carry away some for the use of their factories. Their agents make incredible fortunes, and the private merchants considerable ones, which they go to the mother-country to enjoy. The other European nations find in the treasures of this ruling power accommodations, which make it unnecessary to introduce new bullion. Must not all these combined circumstances necessarily occasion a deficiency in the finances of those countries, a void which will, sooner or later, be perceived in the making up of the public accounts?

Can England
flatter her-
self that the
prosperity of
Bengal will
continue?

THAT period might indeed be protracted, if the English, respecting the rights of humanity, were at length to deliver those countries from the oppression under which they have continued to groan

* 2,958,519 l. 7 s. 6 d. † 2,557,476 l. 11 s. 3 d.

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for so many ages. Then Calcutta, far from being an object of terror to the Indians, would become a tribunal always open to the complaints of those unhappy sufferers whom tyranny should dare to molest. Property would be holden so sacred, that the treasure, which for so many years has been buried, would be taken out of the bowels of the earth, to serve the purpose of it's destination. Agriculture and manufactures would be encouraged to such a degree, that the exports would become from day to day more considerable ; and the Company, by following such maxims as these, instead of being driven to the necessity of lessening the tributes which they found established, might possibly find means to bring about an augmentation consistent with the general satisfaction of the natives. Let it not be said that such a plan is chimerical. The English Company itself has already proved the possibility of it.

MOST of the European nations that have acquired any territory in India, generally choose for their farmers the natives of the country, from whom they exact such considerable sums in advance, that in order to pay them, they are obliged to borrow at an exorbitant interest. The distress which these greedy farmers voluntarily bring on themselves, obliges them to exact of the inhabitants, to whom they let some parcels of the land below their value, so considerable a rent, that these unfortunate persons quit their villages, and abandon them for ever. The contractor, ruined by this incident, which renders him insolvent, is dismissed to make room for a successor,
who

who commonly meets with the same fate ; so that it very frequently happens, that nothing but the first sum deposited, or very little more, is ever received.

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}

DIFFERENT measures have been pursued in the English colonies, on the coast of Coromandel. It was observed that the villages had been formed by several families, who, for the most part, were connected with each other ; this has been the reason why the custom of employing farmers has been abolished. Every land was taxed at a certain annual rent, and the head of the family was security for his relations and connexions. This method united the colonists one with another, and created in them a disposition, as well as the power, of affording each other a reciprocal support. This has occasioned the settlements of that nation to rise to the utmost degree of prosperity they were capable of attaining ; while those of her rivals were languishing for want of cultivation and manufactures, and consequently of population.

Why must a mode of conduct, which does so much honour to reason and humanity, be confined to the small territory of Madras ? Can it be true that moderation is a virtue that belongs only to a state of mediocrity ? The English Company, till these latter times, had always holden a conduct superior to that of the other Companies. Their agents, their factors, were well chosen. The most part of them were young men of good families, who were not afraid, when the service of their country called upon them, to cross those immense seas which England considers as a part of her

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Oppressions
and cruelties
exercised by
the English
in Bengal.

empire. The Company had generally taken their commerce in a great point of view, and had almost always carried it on like an association of true politicians as well as a body of merchants. Upon the whole, their planters, merchants, and soldiers had preserved more honesty, more regularity, and more firmness than those of the other nations.

Who would ever have imagined that this same Company, by a sudden alteration of conduct, and change of system, could possibly make the people of Bengal regret the despotism of their antient masters? That fatal revolution has been but too sudden and too real. A settled plan of tyranny has taken the place of authority occasionally exerted. The exactions are become general and fixed, the oppression continual and absolute. The destructive arts of monopolies have been improved, and new ones have been invented. In a word, the Company have tainted and corrupted the public sources of confidence and happiness.

UNDER the government of the Mogul Emperors, the subahs, who had the care of the revenues, were, from the nature of the business, obliged to leave the receipt of them to Nabobs, Polygars, and Jemidars, who were a sort of superior security for other Indians, and these still for others; so that the produce of the lands passed on, and was partly sunk amidst a multitude of intermediate hands, before it came into the coffers of the subah, who, on his part, delivered but a very small portion of it to the emperor. This administration, faulty in many respects, had in it one favourable circumstance for the people, that the farmers
never

never being changed, the rent of the farms remained always the same; because the least increase, as it disturbed the whole chain of advantage which every one received in his turn, would infallibly have occasioned a revolt: a terrible resource, but the only one left in favour of humanity, in countries groaning under the oppressions of despotic rulers.

It is probable that in the midst of these regulations there were many acts of injustice and partial oppressions. But, at least, as the assessment of the public monies was made at a fixed and moderate rate, emulation was not wholly extinguished. The cultivators of the land being sure of laying up the produce of their harvest, after paying with exactness the rate of their farm, seconded the natural fertility of the soil by their labour; the weavers, masters of the price of their works, being at liberty to make choice of the buyer who best suited them, exerted themselves in extending and improving their manufactures. Both the one and the other, having no anxiety with regard to their subsistence, yielded with satisfaction to the most delightful inclinations of nature, or the prevailing propensity of these climates; and beheld, in the increase of their family, one method of augmenting their riches. Such are evidently the reasons why industry, agriculture, and population, have been carried to such a height in the province of Bengal. It should seem that they might still be carried further under the government of a free people, friends to humanity; but the thirst of gold, the most tormenting, the most cruel of all passions,

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passions, has given rise to a pernicious and destructive administration.

THE English, become sovereigns of Bengal, not content with receiving the revenues on the same footing as the ancient subahs, have been desirous at once to augment the produce of the farms, and to appropriate to themselves the benefit of them. To accomplish both these objects, they are become the farmers to their own subah, that is, to a slave on whom they have just conferred that empty title, the more securely to impose upon the people. The consequence of this new plan has been to pillage the farmers, in order to substitute in their room the Company's agents. They have also monopolized the sale of salt, tobacco, and betel, articles of immediate necessity in those countries, but they have done this under the name, and apparently on the account of the subah. They have gone still further, and have obliged the very same subah to establish in their favour an exclusive privilege for the sale of cotton brought from any other province, in order to raise it to an exorbitant price. They have augmented the customs, and have at length caused an edict to be published, which forbids every European, except the English, from trading in the interior parts of Bengal.

WHEN we reflect on this cruel prohibition, it seems as if it had been contrived only to deprive of every power of mischief that unfortunate country, whose prosperity, for their own interest, ought to be the only object of the English Company. Besides, it is easy to see that the personal avarice

avarice of the members of the council at Calcutta has dictated that shameful law. Their design was to ensure to themselves the produce of all the manufactures, in order to compel the merchants of other nations, who chose to trade from one part of India to another, to purchase these articles of them at an exorbitant price, or to renounce their undertakings. BOOK
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BUT still, in the midst of this overbearing conduct, so contrary to the advantage of their constituents, these treacherous agents have attempted to disguise themselves under the mask of zeal. They have pretended, that as they were under the necessity of exporting to England a quantity of merchandise proportioned to the extent of her commerce, the competition of private traders was prejudicial to the purchases of the Company.

UNDER the same pretence, and in order to extend this exclusion to the foreign settlements while they appear to respect their rights, they have of late years ordered more merchandise than Bengal could furnish. At the same time the weavers have been forbidden to work for other nations until the English Company's orders were completed. Thus the workmen, not being any longer at liberty to choose among the several purchasers, have been forced to deliver the fruits of their labour at any price they could get for them.

LET us consider too in what coin these workmen have been paid. Here reason is confounded; and we are at a loss for excuses or pretexts.

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The English, conquerors of Bengal, possessors of the immense treasures which the fruitfulness of the soil, and the industry of the inhabitants had collected, have debased themselves so far as to alter the value of the specie. They have set the example of this meanness unknow'n to the despotic rulers of Asia; and it is by this disgraceful act that they have announced to the natives their sovereignty over them. An operation, indeed, so contrary to the principles of trade and public faith, could not subsist for any length of time. The Company themselves found the pernicious effects of it, and were resolved to call in all the base coin, in order to replace it with other money, exactly the same as that which was always current in those countries. But let us attend to the manner in which so necessary an alteration was conducted.

THEY had struck in gold rupees to the amount of about fifteen millions* nominal value, but which represented, in fact, but nine millions†; for four tenths, or something more, was alloy. All who were found to possess these gold rupees of false alloy, were enjoined to bring them into the treasury at Calcutta, where they should be reimbursed for them in silver rupees; but instead of ten rupees and a half of silver, which each gold rupee ought to be worth according to it's rate, they gave them but six; so that the amount of the alloy became the clear loss of the creditor.

AN oppression so general must necessarily be attended with violence; and consequently it has

* 625,000 l.

† 375,000 l.

been

been necessary several times to have recourse to force of arms to carry into execution the orders of the council at Calcutta. These forces have not been employed against the Indians alone; tumults have also broken out, and military preparations been made on all sides, even in the midst of peace. The Europeans have been exposed to signal acts of hostility, and particularly the French, who, notwithstanding their being so reduced, and so weak, have still excited the jealousy of their former rivals.

If to this picture of public oppressions, we were to add that of private extortions, we should find the agents of the Company, almost every where, exacting their tribute with extreme rigour, and raising contributions with the utmost cruelty. We should see them carrying a kind of inquisition into every family, and sitting in judgment upon every fortune; robbing indiscriminately the artisan and the labourer, imputing it often to a man as a crime that he is not sufficiently rich, and punishing him accordingly. We should view them selling their favour and their credit, as well to oppress the innocent, as to screen the guilty. We should find, in consequence of these irregularities, despair seizing every heart, and an universal dejection getting the better of every mind, and uniting to put a stop to the progress and activity of commerce, agriculture, and population.

It will be thought, without doubt, after these details, it was impossible that Bengal should have fresh evils to dread. But, however, as if the elements,

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ments, in league with mankind, had intended to bring all at once upon the same people every calamity that by turns lays waste the universe, a drought, of which there never had been an instance in those climates, came upon them, and prepared the way for a most dreadful famine in a country of all the most fertile.

IN Bengal there are two harvests; one in April, the other in October. The first, called the little harvest, consists of the smaller grain: the second, stiled the grand harvest, is singly of rice. The rains, which commence regularly in the month of August, and end in the middle of October, are the occasion of these different productions; and it was by a drought, which happened in 1769, at the season when the rains are expected, that there was a failure in the great harvest of 1769, and the less harvest of 1770. It is true, that the rice on the higher grounds did not suffer greatly by this disturbance of the seasons, but there was far from a sufficient quantity for the nourishment of all the inhabitants of the country; add to which, the English, who were engaged before-hand to take proper care of their subsistence, as well as of that of the sipahis belonging to them, did not fail to keep locked up in their magazine a part of this harvest, though it was already insufficient.

THEY have been accused of having made a very bad use of that necessary foresight, in order to carry on the most odious and the most criminal of all monopolies. It may be true that such a horrid method of acquiring riches may have
tempted

tempted some individuals ; but that the chief ^{BOOK} agents of the Company, that the Council of Cal- ^{III.} cutta could have adopted and ordered such a destructive scheme; that, to gain a few millions of rupees, the Council should coolly have devoted to destruction several millions of their fellow-creatures, and by the most cruel means ; this is a circumstance we never can give credit to. We even venture to pronounce it impossible ; because such wickedness could never enter at once into the minds and hearts of a set of men, whose business it is to deliberate and act for the good of others.

THIS calamity, however, was soon felt throughout the extent of Bengal. Rice, which was commonly sold at one sol * for three pounds, increased gradually till it came so high as to be sold at four sols † per pound, and it has even risen to five or six sols ‡ ; neither indeed, was there any to be found, except in such places where the Europeans had taken care to collect it for their own use.

THE unhappy Indians were every day perishing by thousands in this famine, without any means of help and without any resource, not being able to procure themselves the least nourishment. They were to be seen in their villages, along the public ways, in the midst of our European colonies, pale, meagre, fainting, emaciated, consumed by famine ; some stretched on the ground in expectation of dying, others scarce able to

* $\frac{1}{2}$.

† 2d.

‡ About 3d.

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drag themselves on to seek for any food, and throwing themselves at the feet of the Europeans, intreating them to take them in as their slaves.

To this description, which makes humanity shudder, let us add other objects equally shocking; let imagination enlarge upon them, if possible; let us represent to ourselves infants deserted, some expiring on the breast of their mothers; every where the dying and the dead mingled together; on all sides the groans of sorrow, and the tears of despair; and we shall then have some faint idea of the horrible spectacle Bengal presented for the space of six weeks.

DURING this whole time the Ganges was covered with carcases; the fields and highways were choaked up with them; infectious vapours filled the air, and diseases multiplied; and one evil succeeding another, it was likely to happen, that the plague might have carried off the remainder of the inhabitants of that unfortunate kingdom. It appears, by calculations pretty generally acknowledged, that the famine carried off a fourth part; that is to say, about three millions.

BUT it is still more remarkable, and serves to characterise the gentleness, or rather the indolence, as well moral as natural, of the natives, that amidst this terrible distress, such a multitude of human creatures, pressed by the most urgent of all necessities, remained in an absolute inactivity, and made no attempts whatever for their self-preservation. All the Europeans, especially the English, were possessed of magazines. These
were

were even respected; as well as private houses, BOOK
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no revolt, no massacre, nor the least violence prevailed. The unhappy Indians, resigned to despair, confined themselves to the request of succour they did not obtain, and peaceably waited the relief of death.

LET us now represent to ourselves any part of Europe afflicted by a similar calamity. What disorder! what fury! what atrocious acts! what crimes would ensue! How should we have seen among us Europeans, some contending for their food with their dagger in hand, some pursuing, some flying, and, without remorse, massacring one another! How should we have seen men at last turn their rage on themselves, tearing and devouring their own limbs, and, in the blindness of despair, trampling under foot all authority, as well as every sentiment of nature and reason!

HAD it been the fate of the English to have had the like events to dread on the part of the people of Bengal, perhaps the famine would have been less general and less destructive. For setting aside, as perhaps we ought, every charge of monopoly, no one will undertake to defend them against the reproach of negligence and insensibility. And in what crisis have they merited that reproach? In the very instant of time when the life or death of several millions of their fellow-creatures was in their power. One would think that, in such an alternative, the very love of mankind, that sentiment innate in all hearts, might have inspired them with resources. Might not the poor wretches, expiring before the eyes of the Europeans,

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Europeans, with reason have cried out, "Is it
 " then but for our ruin that you are fertile in ex-
 " pedients for your own preservation? The im-
 " mense treasures which a long succession of ages
 " had accumulated in this country, you have
 " made your own spoils; you have transported
 " them into your own country; you have levied
 " your contributions on us; you have got your
 " agents to receive them for you; you are mas-
 " ters of our interior commerce; you are the
 " sole managers of all our exported merchandise;
 " your numerous vessels laden with the produce
 " of our industry and our soil, pour riches into
 " your factories, and into your colonies. All
 " these things you regulate, and you carry on
 " solely for your own advantage. But what have
 " you done for our preservation? What steps
 " have you taken to remove from us the scourge
 " that threatened us? Deprived of all autho-
 " rity, stripped of our property, weighed down
 " by the terrible hand of power, we can only lift
 " our hands to you to implore your assistance.
 " Ye have heard our groans; ye have seen famine
 " making very quick advances upon us; and
 " then ye attended to your own preservation;
 " Ye have hoarded up the small quantity of pro-
 " visions which escaped the pestilence; ye have
 " filled your granaries with them, and distributed
 " them among your soldiers. But us, the sad
 " dupes of your avarice, wretches in every re-
 " spect, as well by your tyranny as by your in-
 " difference, ye treat us like slaves, while ye
 " suppose we have any riches; but when it ap-
 " pears

“ pears we are but a set of beings full of wants,
 “ then you no longer regard us even as human
 “ creatures. Of what service is it to us that you
 “ have the management of our public forces en-
 “ tirely in your hands? Where are the laws and
 “ the morals of which ye are so proud? What
 “ then is that government whose wisdom you so
 “ much boast of? Have ye put a stop to the pro-
 “ digious exports made by your private traders?
 “ Have ye changed the destination of your ships?
 “ Have they traversed the neighbouring seas in
 “ search of the means of subsistence for us?
 “ Have ye requested it of the adjacent coun-
 “ tries? Ah, why has Providence suffered you to
 “ break the chain which attached us to our ancient
 “ sovereigns? Less grasping, and more humane
 “ than ye are, they would have invited plenty
 “ from all parts of Asia; they would have open-
 “ ed every communication; they would have la-
 “ vished their treasures, and have thought they
 “ did but enrich themselves while they preserved
 “ their subjects.”

THIS last reflection, at least, was calculated
 to make an impression on the English, supposing
 even that every sentiment of humanity was ex-
 tinguished in their hearts by the effects of de-
 pravity. The barrenness had been announced by
 a drought; and it is not to be doubted, that, if in-
 stead of having solely a regard to themselves, and
 remaining in an entire negligence of every thing
 else, they had from the first taken every precaution
 in their power, they might have accomplished
 the preservation of many lives that were lost.

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It must be allowed, that the corruption to which the English gave themselves up from the first beginning of their power, the oppression which succeeded it, the abuses every day multiplying, the entire loss of all principle ; all these circumstances together form a contrast totally inconsistent with their past conduct in India, and the real constitution of their government in Europe. But this sort of problem in morals will be easily solved, upon considering with attention the natural effect of circumstances and events.

BEING now become absolute rulers in an empire where they were but traders, it was very difficult for the English not to make a bad use of their power. At a distance from their country, men are no longer restrained by the fear of blushing before their countrymen. In a hot climate where the body loses it's vigour, the mind must lose some of it's strength. In a country where nature and custom lead to indulgence, men are apt to be seduced. In regions where they come for the purpose of enriching themselves, they easily forget to be just.

PERHAPS, however, in a situation so dangerous, the English would at least have preserved some appearance of moderation and virtue, had they been checked by the restraint of the laws : but there were none to direct or to bind them. The regulations made by the Company, for the carrying on of their commerce, were not applicable to this new arrangement of affairs ; and the English government, considering the conquest of Bengal but as a help towards increasing numerically the

revenue of Great Britain, gave up to the Company ^{B O O K}
for 9,000,000 of livres * per annum the destiny _{inf.}
of twelve millions of people.

THESE unfortunate victims of insatiate cupidity, were oppressed with all the scourges that tyranny could collect; and the Company which ordered or connived at all these crimes, was not the less threatened with total ruin. This would have been completed, if, in 1773, authority had not stepped in to their assistance, and enabled them to fulfil the rash engagements they had entered into; but the Parliament ordered that all the details of this corrupt administration should be submitted to it's inspection; that the numerous frauds and violences which had been committed should be publicly unmasked; and that the rights of a whole people should be weighed in the scale of liberty and justice.

YES, august legislators, ye will fulfil our expectations! Ye will restore mankind their rights; ye will put a curb on avarice, and break the yoke of tyranny. The immoveable authority of law, shall be substituted in all parts, to an administration merely arbitrary. At sight of this authority, monopoly, that tyrant over industry, will for ever disappear. The fetters which private interest has rivetted upon commerce, ye will strike off in favour of general advantage.

You will not confine yourselves to this momentary reformation. You will carry your views into futurity; you will calculate the influence of

* 375,000l.

climate, the danger of circumstances, the contagion of example; and, to prevent their effects, you will select persons without connexions, without passions, to visit these distant countries; issuing from the bosom of your metropolis, they are to pass through these provinces, in order to hear complaints, rectify abuses, redress injuries; in a word, to maintain and re-unite the ties of order throughout the country.

By the execution of this salutary plan, you will, without doubt, have done much towards the happiness of these people; but not enough for your own honour. One prejudice you have still to conquer, and that victory is worthy of yourselves. Make your new subjects enjoy the sweets of property. Portion out to them the fields on which they were born: they will learn to cultivate them for themselves. Attached to you by these favours, more than ever they were by fear, they will pay with joy the tribute you impose with moderation. They will instruct their children to adore and admire your government; and successive generations will transmit, with their inheritance, the sentiments of their happiness mixed with that of their gratitude.

THEN shall the friends of mankind applaud your success; they will indulge the hope of seeing prosperity once more revive in a country embellished by nature, and no longer ravaged by despotism. It will be pleasing to them to think that the calamities which afflicted those fertile countries are for ever removed from them. They will pardon in you those usurpations, which have
been

been only set on foot for the sake of despoiling tyrants; and they will invite you to new conquests, when they see the influence of your sublime constitution extending itself even to the very extremities of Asia, to give birth to liberty, property, and happiness.

LET us now inquire whether these hopes, founded upon the high opinion which the British legislature must necessarily inspire us with, were realized: First, to prevent an inevitable bankruptcy, the effects of which would have been spread to a great distance, the government permitted the Company to borrow 31,500,000 livres*, at an interest of four per cent. This sum has been successively reimbursed, and the last payment made in the month of December 1776.

Measures taken by the government, and by the Company itself, to put an end to depredations of all kinds.

THE parliament afterwards released the Company from the annual tribute of 9,000,000 of livres†; which they paid to the treasury since 1769. The period for the renewal of this contribution was not yet settled. It was only resolved, that the proprietors should not receive a dividend of more than eight per cent. without sharing the overplus with the government.

THE fate of the proprietors also engaged the attention of government. The trade of India was ill understood, and conducted upon very uncertain principles, in the last century. The consequence of this was, that, in some instances, enormous profits were made, and in others, considerable losses incurred. The dividends received

* 31,500,000l.

† 375,000l.

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 III. by the proprietors, were regulated by these fluctuations. In process of time, these differences decreased, but the dividends were never equal. In 1708, they were no more than five per cent.; in 1709, they arose to eight, and in 1710, to nine. For eleven years subsequent to this, they remained at ten, and were at eight only from 1721 to 1731. From that period to 1743, they did not exceed seven per cent. From 1743 to 1756, they rose to eight, but fell to six from 1756 to 1766. In 1767, they rose to ten, and were increased successively, by two per cent. more, the following years. In 1771, they were carried as far as twelve and a half; but eighteen months afterwards, the parliament reduced them to six, till the payment of 31,500,000 livres* was completed. The Company having fulfilled this engagement, raised their dividend to seven; and afterwards to eight, when they had paid off the half of their debt, known under the name of bills of contract, and which amounted to 67,500,000 livres†.

Since the origin of the Company, the proprietors have always chosen annually twenty-four persons from among them, to conduct their affairs. Although these directors may be chosen three times successively, and although those who are most in repute frequently succeed in obtaining this advantage, yet they were too much dependent upon their constituents to form any connected plans, or to adopt any resolute measures. The parliament ordered, that, for the future, every

* 1,312,500*l*.

† 2,812,500*l*.

director

director should remain for four years, and that the fourth part of the direction should be renewed every year. BOOK
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THE confusion that prevailed in the deliberations, suggested the idea of another regulation. Hitherto, the public meetings had been tumultuous, because every proprietor of 11,250 livres* had a right to vote. It was resolved, that, for the future, this right should only be granted to those who had double that sum. They were even compelled to affirm upon oath, that they were really proprietors of this capital, and had been so for a whole year.

It is said, that government had further views. They intended to reduce the number of directors to fifteen, to increase their appointments from 22,500 livres† to 45,000 livres‡, and to liberate them from the controul of the proprietors. If this plan, which was to give so much influence to ministry, has been really formed, some unforeseen circumstances must have prevented it from being carried into execution.

INDEPENDENT of the changes ordered by parliament, the Company itself made an arrangement of evident utility.

THIS great association, from their first origin, were ambitious of having a navy. It was annihilated when they renewed their commerce, in the time of the Protector. As they were then eager to enjoy the benefit of this trade, they resolved to make use of the ships of private per-

* 468l. 15s.

† 937l. 10s.

‡ 1875l.

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III.

sons; and the plan they adopted at first from necessity, they persevered in afterwards from motives of oeconomy. Merchants used to freight ships for them, completely equipped and victualled, to convey to India, and to bring back from thence, the number of tons agreed upon. The time they were to remain at the place of their destination, was always fixed. Those which could not be supplied with cargoes, were usually taken by some free merchant, who readily engaged to indemnify the owners. They were to be dispatched the first in the ensuing season, in order that their rigging might not be too much worn. In cases of necessity, the Company used to furnish them with rigging from their own stores; but they were paid for them at a stipulated price, of fifty per cent. profit.

The ships employed in this navigation, carried from six to eight hundred tons. The Company, at their departure, only took the room they wanted for their iron, lead, copper, woollen stuffs, and Madeira wines, the only merchandise they sent to India. The proprietors might fill up the remaining space in the ship with the provisions necessary for so long a voyage, and with all the articles which the Company they served did not make objects of their trade. At their return, they had also the right of disposing of the space of thirty tons, which, by their contract, they had reserved. They were even authorised to fill up this space with the same goods that were received by the Company; but upon condition that they should pay thirty per cent. on the value of them.

IN 1773, this tax was reduced to the half, in hopes that this favour would induce the owners and their agents to fulfil their engagements with more exactness, and that it would put a stop to fraudulent imports. This new arrangement not having had the effect that was expected from it, the Company at length took the resolution to appropriate to their own use all the space of these ships. Since this resolution, they import the same quantity of merchandise on a smaller number of vessels, by which they make an annual saving of 2,250,000 livres*. In 1777, they sent out only forty-five ships, consisting of thirty-three thousand one hundred and sixty-one tons, and the crews of which amounted to four thousand five hundred men.

THE surgeon of each vessel, on it's return from India, receives, beside his appointments, a gratuity of four and twenty livres† for each man he brings back to Europe. It has been thought, with reason, that this surgeon, when better rewarded, would take more care of those that were intrusted to him, and that the life of a man was worth more than a guinea. If the same custom has not been adopted elsewhere, it is either because they have a higher opinion of the surgeon, or a less value for man.

THE reformation, introduced in Europe in the management of the Company, was wise and necessary; but it was chiefly in the Indies that humanity, justice, and policy, were subverted.

* 93,750*l*.† 1*l*.

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These dreadful truths did not escape the notice of government; and we shall now see what means were suggested to them for the re-establishment of order.

THE boldest or most ambitious members of the administration, advanced, that the legislative body ought to decide, that the territorial acquisitions made in Asia did not belong to the Company, but to the nation, which would immediately take possession of them. This system, upon whatever grounds of reasoning it might have been supported, would certainly have been rejected. The most enlightened among the citizens would have seen, that this arrangement would have given too much influence to the crown; it would have alarmed even those venal minds which had hitherto been most partial to regal authority.

THE parliament then thought proper to confine itself to the establishment of a supreme council in Bengal, composed of five members, whose places, when they became vacated, were to be filled up by the Company, but with the approbation of the King. The absolute direction of all the provinces conquered in that country, was conferred on this council; whose jurisdiction extends also over all the other parts of India, in which the English have possessions. Persons who are in power there, cannot make either war or peace, or enter into any treaty with the princes of the country, without the consent of this council. It is to obey all the orders sent from the directors, who, in their turn, are obliged to impart to the ministry all the intelligence they receive. Although

though the operations of commerce be not immediately under the inspection of this council, yet it has in reality the decision of them; because, having the sole disposal of the public revenues, it can grant or refuse advances at pleasure.

AFTER having placed the banks of the Ganges under a more tolerable form of government, it became necessary to attend to the punishment, and even the prevention, of the enormities with which this rich part of Asia was more and more sullied. It was agreed, that, in all the other settlements, civil and criminal justice should continue to be rendered by the principal servants of the Company: but the parliament created for Bengal a tribunal composed of four magistrates, who were appointed by the crown, and whose decrees could not be reversed, except by the King in his privy council. These judges, as well as the members of the supreme council, are not allowed to have any concern in trade. To indemnify them for this prohibition, the incomes assigned them have been too considerable, at least in the opinion of the proprietors, who are obliged to pay them, without having either regulated or consented to them.

ANOTHER very great abuse had been introduced into India; and this was the raising of fortifications in all parts without necessity, sometimes even without any apparent utility. It was the cupidity of the Company's agents alone which determined these constructions. They had cost upwards of 100,000,000 of livres* in very few

* 4,166,666l. 13s. 4d.

years.

BOOK years. The direction put a stop to this dreadful
 III. evil, by wisely regulating the sum to be employed
 in future in this sort of defence.

THE spirit of order extended itself to the management of the public revenues, to the pay of the troops, to the military part of the navy, to the operations of commerce, and to the objects of administration.

THE Great Mogul had taken refuge in Bengal, and a pension had been assigned to him of 6,240,000 livres*, for his subsistence. He was replaced upon the throne by the Marattas, and the English were relieved from a kind of tribute, which they did not submit to without impatience, since they were no longer in need of this feeble support. Chance was not so favourable to them in their schemes of stripping the Soubah of his country; and yet they reduced to 7,680,000 livres†, the revenue of 12,720,000 livres‡, which, by the treaty of 1769, they were obliged to pay him. In 1771, his successor was even restrained to 3,840,000 livres§, upon pretence that he was a minor. He may expect to have his revenue still more curtailed, because his name is now never made use of, which, till the year 1772, was inserted in all acts of sovereignty.

It was impossible that all these reformatations should not fill up the precipice, which presumption, neglect, factions, plunder, and extravagancies of all kinds, had digged for the Company. We shall judge how much their situation has been improved.

* 260,000l. † 320,000l. ‡ 530,000l. § 160,000l.

ON

On the 31st of January 1774, this body, the ⁸⁰⁰⁰ apparent prosperity of which astonished the whole ^{III.} universe, had not more than 255,240,742 livres, ten sols*. Their debts amounted to 250,847,842 livres, ten sols†. The balance in their favour, therefore, was only 4,392,900 livres‡.

Present situation of the Company.

On the 31st of January 1776, their capital amounted to 256,518,067 livres, ten sols§; and their debts to 195,248,655 livres||. Their treasure was consequently increased in two years by 56,876,512 livres, ten sols¶.

They have since paid off 11,506,680 livres**, which remained due of the loan of 31,500,000 livres††. They have taken up 11,250,000 livres‡‡ in bills of contract. They have discharged several debts formerly contracted in India; so that, on the 31st January 1778, the Company had, at their free and entire disposal, the sum of 102,708,112 livres, ten sols§§; exclusive of their magazines, their ships, their fortifications, and every thing which is of use in maintaining their several settlements.

Thus prosperity will increase in proportion as the immense territory acquired by the English in India, shall be better administered. In 1773, their possessions returned 113,791,252 livres, ten sols|||; but the expences of collecting this sum absorbed 81,153,652 livres, ten sols¶¶. At this period then, the net produce amounted only

* 10,635,031l. 8s. 9d. † 10,451,993l. 8s. 9d.
‡ 183,037l. 10s. § 10,688,252l. 16s. 3d. || 8,135,356l. 9s. 2d.
¶ 2,369,854l. 13s. 9d. ** 479,445l. †† 1,312,500l.
‡‡ 468,701l. §§ 4,279,504l. 13s. |||| 4,741,302l. 3s. 9d.
¶¶ 3,381,402l. 3s. 9d.

BOOK III. to 32,660,100 livres*. It has gradually increased, because some of the evils have been attacked with success; it will increase still more, because there are still many left to destroy.

THE extension that has been given to the trade, will prove another source of fortune. The sale of 1772 amounted to 79,214,872 livres, ten sols †; that of 1773, to 71,992,552 livres, ten sols ‡; that of 1774, to 82,665,405 livres §; that of 1775, to 78,627,712 livres, ten sols ||; that of 1776, to 74,400,457 livres, ten sols**.

LET us add to these great transactions of the Company, the sum of 11,250,000 livres ††, at which the merchandise annually brought clandestinely from the Indies, is estimated. Let us add 4,500,000 livres ‡‡ for the diamonds. Let us add the funds more or less extensive, but always very considerable, the value of which, the English distributed in the different factories of Asia have furnished to foreign nations. Let us add the riches which these merchants themselves carry away when they have amassed them, to go and enjoy them in their own country. Let us observe at the same time, that these vast speculations, which render all the people of Africa, Europe, and America tributary to Great Britain, do not take annually out of that empire for the Indies more than 2,250,000 livres §§, or at the utmost 3,375,000

* 1,360,837l. 10s.

† 2,999,689l. 13s. 4d.

‡ 3,276,155l. 3s. 9d.

†† 468,750l.

§§ 93,750l.

† 3,300,619l. 13s. 9d.

§ 3,444,391l. 17s. 6d.

** 3,100,019l. 1s. 3d.

†† 187,500l.

livres;

livres * ; and we shall have an idea of the immense advantages which these distant colonies procure to the fortunate possessors of them.

BOOK
III.

In 1780 the charter of the Company will expire, and every thing seems to promise that it will be renewed. Government, after having secured to itself the major part of the produce of these conquests, will deliver up again these regions to the oppressive yoke of monopoly.

Will the
charter of
the Com-
pany be re-
newed ?

“ Unfortunate Indians ! endeavour to reconcile yourselves to your chains. In vain have your supplications been carried to the ministry, to the senate, and to the people. The ministry think only of themselves ; the senate is raving ; and the wise part of the people are either silent, or their words are not attended to. The rapacious and cruel association of merchants that has caused your misfortunes, not only aggravates them, but looks upon them with tranquillity, Privileged robbers ! ye who for so long a time have kept a great part of the globe under the fetters of prohibition, and who have condemned it to eternal poverty, was not this tyranny sufficient for you ? Must you still add to the weight of it, by crimes which render the name of your country execrable ?

“ What did I say, your country ! I doubt whether you have any. But if the voice of private interest alone can awaken your attention, listen to it, while it exclaims by me,

* 140,625 l.

“ that

BOOK
III.

“ that you are precipitating yourselves into ruin.
 “ Your tyranny is hastening to it's end. After
 “ the monstrous abuse you have made of your
 “ authority, whether it be renewed or not it will,
 “ cease. Do you think that the nation, when
 “ roused, as it will be, from it's present delirium
 “ and intoxication, will not call upon you to
 “ answer for your oppressions? Or that ye will
 “ not be made to expiate your enormities by the
 “ loss of your criminal riches, and perhaps by
 “ the effusion of your corrupted blood? You
 “ deceive yourselves if you think that they will
 “ be forgotten. The horrid spectacle of so many
 “ immense regions pillaged, ravaged, or reduced
 “ to the most cruel servitude, will be displayed
 “ before us again. The earth now covers the
 “ carcases of three millions of men, who have
 “ perished through your fault or neglect: but
 “ they will be taken up again out of the ground;
 “ they will cry out to Heaven, and to the earth
 “ for vengeance; and will obtain it. Time and
 “ circumstances will only suspend your punish-
 “ ment. I see the period approaching when you
 “ will be recalled, and your souls impressed with
 “ terror. I behold you dragged into the dun-
 “ geons that you deserve. I view you upon your
 “ coming out of them. I see you brought pale
 “ and trembling before your judges. I hear the
 “ exclamations of the people, in fury collected
 “ about their tribunals. The intimidated orator
 “ falters in his harangue. Shame and dread
 “ have taken possession of him, and he has given
 “ up your cause; the confiscation of your estates,
 “ and

“ and the sentence of your death are pronounced. **BOOK**
 “ My menaces, perhaps, only excite in you a **IN.**
 “ smile of contempt. You have persuaded your-
 “ selves, that men who can throw masses of gold
 “ into the scale of justice will make it incline at
 “ pleasure. Perhaps even you flatter yourselves
 “ that the nation corrupted, while it prolongs your
 “ charter, will avow itself guilty of the crimes you
 “ have committed, and an accomplice of those
 “ you may hereafter commit.”

But this will not be the case; justice will
 sooner or later be exercised. If it were otherwise,
 I would address myself to the populace; I would
 say to them: People, whose clamours have so
 often caused your masters to tremble, what are
 you now waiting for? For what occasion do you
 reserve your torches, and the stones that pave
 your streets? Tear them up—but, the upright
 citizens, if there be some left, will at length be
 roused. They will perceive that the spirit of
 monopoly is narrow and cruel; that it is insen-
 sible to the public good; and that it cannot be
 restrained by the idea of either present or future
 censure. They will find that this spirit sees no-
 thing beyond the present moment; and that in
 the paroxysm of it's phrensy, it has pronounced
 at all times, and among all nations, the following
 decree:

“ LET my country perish, let the region I
 “ command perish likewise; perish the citizen and
 “ the foreigner; perish my associate, provided
 “ I can but enrich myself with his spoils. All
 “ parts

B O O K " parts of the universe are alike to me. When I
 III. " have laid waste, exhausted, and impoverished
 " one country, I shall always find another, to
 " which I may carry my gold, and enjoy it in
 " peace."

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

B O O K IV.

*Voyages, Settlements, Wars, and Trade of the
French in the East-Indies.*

WHEN I began this work, I took an oath B O O K
IV.
 that I would adhere strictly to truth; and
 hitherto I am able conscientiously to declare, that
 I have not departed from it. May my hand
 wither, if it should happen, that by a predilection,
 which is but too frequent, I should either deceive
 myself or others with respect to the faults of the
 French nation. I will neither extenuate the good
 nor the evil which our ancestors have done; and
 the Portuguese, the Dutch, and even the English
 themselves, are the people whom I will call upon
 to attest my impartiality. Let them read and pro-
 nounce my sentence. If they should find that I
 have remitted in favour of the French that se-
 verity with which I have treated them, I give
 them leave to class me among the number of
 those flatterers, who for these two thousand years
 past, have poisoned the minds of the people, and
 of their sovereigns; let them add my volumes to
 the numerous monuments there are existing of the
 same kind of meanness; let them suspect me of
 having given way to the impressions of terrors, or
 of having been seduced by the allurements of
 hopes; let them treat me with the utmost con-
 tempt.

BOOK
IV.

*Ancient re-
volutions of
commerce
in France.*

THE ancient Gauls, almost always at war with each other, had no other intercourse but such as savage nations, whose wants are always few, can have with each other. Their connections abroad were still more circumscribed. Some navigators from Vannes carried earthen-ware to Great Britain, where they bartered it for dogs, slaves, tin, and furs. Such of these articles as they could not dispose of at home, were conveyed to Marseilles, and exchanged for wines, stuffs, and spices, which were brought there by traders from Italy or Greece.

THIS kind of traffic was not carried on by all the Gauls. It appears from Cæsar's account, that the inhabitants of Belgia had prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, as tending to corrupt their morals. They imagined that their own soil was sufficiently fruitful to answer all their wants. The Celtic and Aquitanian Gauls were not so strict. To enable them to pay for the commodities they might procure from the Mediterranean, and for which the demand was continually increasing, they had recourse to a kind of labour that had never before occurred to them: they collected with great care all the gold dust that was brought down with the sand along the stream of several of their rivers.

ALTHOUGH the Romans had neither a turn for trade, nor held it in any kind of estimation, it necessarily increased in Gaul, after they had subdued, and in some measure civilized it. Sea-ports were established at Arles, Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and other places. Magnificent roads were every

where made, the ruins of which we still behold with astonishment. Every navigable river had it's company of merchants, to whom considerable privileges were granted. These were called *Nautes*, and were the agents and springs of a general circulation.

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THIS rising spirit was checked by the inroads of the Franks and other barbarous nations; nor was it restored to it's former activity, even when these robbers had established themselves in their conquests. To their savage fury succeeded an unbounded passion for wealth, to gratify which, they had recourse to every kind of oppression. Every boat that came to a town was to pay a duty for entrance, another for the salute, a third for the bridge, a fourth for approaching the shore, a fifth for anchorage, a sixth for leave to unload, and a seventh for store-room. Land carriages were not more favourably treated, and were exposed to the insufferable tyranny of custom-house officers, who were dispersed all over the country. These excesses were carried so far, that sometimes the goods brought to market did not produce enough to pay the expences incurred before the sale of them. A total discouragement was the necessary consequence of such enormities.

CLOYSTERS soon became the only places where industry prevailed, and manufactures were carried on. The Monks were not then corrupted by idleness, intrigue, and debauchery. Useful labours filled up the vacancies of an edifying and retired life. The most humble and robust of them shared the toils of agriculture with their vassals.

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IV.

Those to whom nature had imparted less strength, or more understanding, applied themselves to the cultivation of the neglected and abandoned arts. All of them in silence and retirement were engaged in the service of their country, the substance of which their successors have incessantly devoured, while they disturbed it's tranquillity.

If these recluse persons had not had recourse to any of those iniquitous measures that have led them to the degree of wealth to which we now see, not without indignation, they have attained; they must necessarily have acquired it in process of time, as it was one of the immediate effects of their constitution. The founders of monasteries had not the least idea of the consequence, though evident enough, of the austerity they imposed upon a monastic life. They were not aware of the accumulation of riches, the limits of which it is impossible to fix, whenever the annual revenue exceeds the annual expenditure. This expenditure being always the same, and subject to no variation, except that of the circumstances which raise or lower the price of provisions; and the overplus of the revenue being continually accumulating, must at length, however trifling we may suppose it, form a great mass of wealth. The prohibiting statutes enacted with respect to possessions in mortmain, may therefore retard, but can never put an entire stop to, the progress of monastic opulence. The case is not the same with the families of citizens which are not subservient to any kind of rule. A prodigal son succeeds to an avaricious father, so that expences

are never upon the same footing. The fortune is ^{B O O K}
 either dissipated, or it is improved. Persons who ^{IV.}
 have laid down rules for religious societies, have
 done it in the sole view of making holy men; but
 their regulations have tended more directly and
 more effectually to make rich ones.

DAGOBERT excited the spirit of his countrymen in the seventh century. Fairs were opened, to which the Saxons flocked with tin and lead from England; the Jews with jewels and gold or silver plate; the Sclavonians with all the metals of the North; traders from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain, with the commodities of their respective countries, and those they received from Africa, Egypt, and Syria; the merchants of every province in the kingdom, with whatever their soil and their industry afforded. Unfortunately, this prosperity was of a short duration; it disappeared under indolent kings, but revived under Charlemagne.

THIS prince, who might without flattery be ranked with the greatest men recorded in history, had he not been sometimes influenced by sanguinary schemes of conquest, and sullied with acts of persecution and tyranny, seemed to follow the footsteps of those first Romans, whose relaxations, from the fatigues of war, were the labours of agriculture. He applied himself to the care of his vast domains, with that closeness and skill which would hardly be expected from the most assiduous man in a private station. All the great men of the state followed his example, and devoted themselves to husbandry, and to those arts

which attend, or are immediately connected with it. From that period the French had many of their own productions to barter, and could with great ease make them circulate throughout the immense empire, which was then subject to their dominion.

So flourishing a situation presented a fresh allurements to the Normans to indulge the inclination they had for piracy. Those barbarians, accustomed to seek from plunder that wealth which their soil did not afford, poured forth in multitudes out of their inhospitable climate in quest of booty. They attacked all the sea-coasts, but more especially those of France, which promised the richest spoil, with the greatest avidity. The ravages they committed, the cruelties they exercised, the flames they kindled for a whole century in those fertile provinces, cannot be remembered without horror. During that fatal period nothing was thought of but how to escape slavery or death. There was no intercourse between the several parts of the kingdom, and consequently no trade.

In the mean time the nobles, intrusted with the administration of the provinces, had insensibly made themselves masters of them, and had found means to make their authority hereditary. They had not, indeed, throw'n off all dependence on the head of the empire; but, although they retained the humble appellation of vassals, they were not much less formidable to the state than the kings in the neighbourhood of it's frontiers. They were confirmed in their usurpations at the memorable

memorable æra when the sceptre was removed from the family of Charlemagne to that of the Capets. From that time there were no national assemblies, no tribunals, no laws, no government. In that fatal confusion, the sword usurped the place of justice, and the free citizens were forced to embrace servitude, to purchase the protection of a chief who was able to defend them.

COMMERCE could not possibly flourish when loaded with the shackles of slavery, and in the midst of the continual disturbances occasioned by the most cruel anarchy. Industry is the child of peace; nothing depresses it so much as servitude. Genius languishes when it is not animated by hope and emulation; and neither of these can subsist where there is no property. Nothing is a stronger recommendation of liberty, or more fully proves the rights of mankind, than the impossibility of working successfully to enrich barbarous masters.

NONE of the kings of France had any conception of this important truth, till they became sensible of it, from experiencing the inconveniences of an authority exposed to perpetual restraint. They therefore endeavoured to limit the power of those subaltern tyrants, who, by ruining their unfortunate vassals, perpetuated the calamities of the monarchy. St. Lewis was the first who introduced trade into the system of government. Before his time it was only the work of chance and circumstances. He brought it under the regulation of stated laws; and he himself drew

B O O K up statutes, which have served as a model for
IV. those that have since been enacted.

THESE first steps led the way to measures of greater importance. The old law, which forbade the exportation of all the productions of the kingdom, was still in force, and agriculture was discouraged by this absurd prohibition. The wise monarch removed these fatal impediments; expecting, not without reason, that a free exportation would restore to the nation those treasures which his imprudent expedition into Asia had lavished.

SOME political events seconded these salutary views. Before the reign of St. Lewis, the kings of France had but few ports on the ocean, and none on the Mediterranean. The northern coasts were divided between the Counts of Flanders and the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Britany; the rest belonged to the English. The southern coasts were possessed by the Counts of Toulouse, and the Kings of Majorca, Arragon, and Castile. By this arrangement, the inland provinces could not, without much difficulty, open a communication with the foreign markets. The union of the county of Toulouse with the crown, removed this great obstacle, at least with respect to a part of the French territory.

PHILIP, the son of St. Lewis, in order to improve the advantages arising from this acquisition, endeavoured to draw to Nîmes, a city under his jurisdiction, part of the trade carried on at Montpellier, which belonged to the king of Arragon.

The

The privileges he granted produced the desired effect; but it was soon found that this success was not of much real advantage. The Italians filled the kingdom with spices, perfumes, silks, and all the rich stuffs of the East. The arts had not made sufficient progress in France to admit of their productions being offered in exchange; and the returns of agriculture were inadequate to the expences of so many objects of luxury. A trade of such valuable articles could not be carried on without money, and there was but little in the kingdom, especially since the expeditions of the Crusades; although France was then richer than most of the other European nations.

PHILIP, surnamed The Fair, was sensible of these truths; he found means to improve agriculture, so as to answer the demands of foreign importations; and these he reduced, by establishing new manufactures, and improving the old ones. Under this reign the ministry first undertook to guide the hand of the artist, and to direct his labours. The breadth, the quality, and the dressing of the cloths were fixed; the exportation of wool, which the neighbouring nations came to purchase in order to manufacture it, was prohibited. These were the least unreasonable measures that could be pursued in those times of ignorance.

SINCE that period, the progress of the arts was proportioned to the decline of feudal tyranny. The French, however, did not begin to form their taste till the time of their expeditions into Italy. They were dazzled with a multitude of new objects

B O O K
IV.

B O O K
IV. } jects that presented themselves at Genoa, Venice,
and Florence. The strictness observed by Anne of Bretagne, under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. at first restrained the conquerors from giving full scope to their propensity for imitation ; but no sooner had Francis I. invited the women to court, no sooner had Catharine of Medicis crossed the Alps, than the great affected an elegance unknow'n before since the first foundation of the monarchy. The whole nation was seduced by this alluring example of luxury, and the improvement of the manufactures was the natural consequence.

FROM Henry II. to Henry IV. the civil wars, the unhappy divisions of religion, the ignorance of government, the spirit of finance which began to have it's influence in the council; the barbarous and devouring avarice of men in business, encouraged by the protection they enjoyed ; all these several causes retarded the progress of industry, but could never destroy it. It revived with fresh splendour under the frugal administration of Sully. It was almost extinguished under that of Richelieu and Mazarin, both governed by the farmers of the revenue ; one wholly taken up with his ambition for empire and his spirit of revenge, the other with intrigue and plunder.

First voyages
of the
French to
the East-
Indies.

No king of France had ever seriously considered the advantages that might accrue from a trade to India, nor had the emulation of the French been excited by the lustre which other nations derived from it. They consumed more eastern productions than any other nation ; they were as favourably situated

situated for procuring them at the first hand; BOOK
IV. and yet they were content to pay to foreign industry what their own might as well have partaken of.

SOME merchants of Rouen had ventured, indeed, in 1503, upon a small expedition; but Gonneville, who commanded it, met with violent storms at the Cape of Good Hope, was cast upon unknow'n lands, and with much difficulty got back to Europe.

IN 1601 a society formed in Bretagne fitted out two ships, to endeavour to get a share, if possible, of the riches of the East, which the Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch, were contending for. Pyraud, who commanded these ships, arrived at the Maldives, and did not return to his own country till after an unfortunate navigation of ten years.

A NEW company, headed by one Girard, a native of Flanders, fitted out some ships from Normandy for the island of Java, in 1616 and 1619. They returned with cargoes sufficient to indemnify the adventurers, but not to encourage them to any fresh undertakings.

CAPTAIN Reginon, upon the expiration of this fruitless grant in 1633, prevailed upon some merchants of Dieppe, two years after, to enter upon a track which might be productive of great riches, if properly pursued. Fortune baffled the endeavours of the new adventurers. The only advantage gained by these repeated expeditions, was the high opinion that was conceived of Madagascar,

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gaspar, which till that time had been neglected by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English, who had not found there any of the objects which attracted them to the East.

THE favourable impression the French had received of this island, gave rise to a Company in 1642, which intended to make a considerable settlement upon it, with a view of securing to their ships the necessary refreshments for sailing further. The charter of this Company was to last twenty years; but the cruelties committed by its agents, together with their many acts of perfidy and dishonesty, put an end to its existence before the completion of that period. Its capital was consumed; and in return for all its expences, it had nothing more than four or five hamlets, situated along the coast, constructed with planks, covered in with leaves, surrounded with stakes, and decorated with the pompous name of forts, because there were a few batteries upon them. The defenders of these wretched huts were reduced to the number of one hundred robbers; whose tyranny daily increased the hatred that had been sworn against their nation. A few small districts, abandoned by the natives, and some rather more extensive, from which a tribute of provisions was exacted by force; these were the only advantages that had been obtained.

THE Marshal de la Meilleraie seized upon these ruins, and conceived the project of restoring this ill-conducted undertaking for his own private emolument. He met with so little success, that
his

his property sold but for 20,000 livres*, which was full as much as it was worth.

At length, in 1664, Colbert undertook to make France a sharer in the East India trade. There were great inconveniences attending this intercourse with Asia. It could scarce furnish any thing but articles of luxury; it retarded the progress of the arts which the French were labouring with so much success to establish; it procured but very little vent for the national provisions and manufactures; and necessarily occasioned a great exportation of specie. Considerations of so important a nature, were calculated to excite suspense in the mind of a minister, whose plans were pursued with no other view but to extend every branch of industry, and to add to the riches of the kingdom. But the French, in imitation of the other Europeans, displayed a determined taste for the luxuries of the East. It was thought that it would be more advantageous, and at the same time more honourable, to go in search of them across an immense ocean, than to receive them from rivals, perhaps from enemies.

THE mode of carrying this matter into execution, was already traced out. It was then a maxim so generally received, that such nice and complicated operations could only be managed by an exclusive charter, that the boldest speculator would not have called it in question. An East-India Company was therefore created, vested with all the privileges enjoyed by those of

BOOK
IV.

An East-India Company is established in France. Encouragements given to this association.

* 831l. 6s. 8d.

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Holland and England. Colbert went still further; and, considering that for the purpose of carrying on great commercial undertakings, there is naturally a degree of confidence existing in republican governments, which cannot be expected in a monarchy, had recourse to every expedient that could produce it.

A CHARTER was granted for fifty years, that the Company might be encouraged to form great settlements, with a prospect of reaping the fruits of them.

ALL foreigners advancing 20,000 livres* were to be deemed Frenchmen, without the privilege of naturalization.

ON the like terms, officers, whatever corps they belonged to, were allowed leave of absence, without forfeiting the rights of their post, or their pay.

WHATEVER was wanted for the building, equipment, or victualling of the ships, was to be exempted from all the duties of export or import, as well as from those of the admiralty.

THE government engaged to pay fifty livres† per ton for all goods exported from France to India, and seventy-five livres‡ for every ton imported from thence.

It was agreed, that the settlements of the Company should be defended with a sufficient military force, and that their outward and homeward-bound ships should be furnished with as strong a convoy as exigencies should require.

* 833l. 6s. 8d.

† 2l. 1s. 8d.

‡ 3l. 2s. 6d.

THE ruling passion of the nation was made subservient to this establishment. Hereditary titles and honours were promised to such as should distinguish themselves in the service of the Company.

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As trade was yet in it's infancy in France, and was unable to furnish the fifteen millions* that were to constitute the stock of the new society, the ministry engaged to lend as far as three millions†. The nobles, the magistrates, all orders of men, were invited to share the rest. The nation, proud to please their king, who had not yet crushed them with the weight of his false greatness, came into the proposal with great eagerness.

MADAGASCAR was again destined to be the nursery of the new association. The repeated misfortunes experienced there, did not invalidate the idea of it's being the best basis for the vast edifice that was to be raised. In order to form a proper judgment of these views, we must endeavour to acquire as thorough a knowledge as possible of this celebrated island.

MADAGASCAR, which is separated from the continent of Africa by the Mozambique channel, is situated at the entrance of the Indian ocean, between the twelfth and twenty-fifth degree of latitude, and between the sixty-second and seventy-second degree of longitude. It is three hundred and thirty-six leagues in length, one hundred and twenty in it's greatest breadth, and about eight hundred in circumference.

The French establish colonies at Madagascar. Description of that island.

* 625,000l.

† 125,000l.

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THE coasts of this great island are in general unwholesome ; an evil arising from natural causes, and which might be remedied. The land which we inhabit, has been rendered wholesome merely by the labours of man. In it's original state, it was covered with forests and morasses, which corrupted the air. Such is the present state of Madagascar. The rains, as in the other countries situated under the tropics, are periodical. They form rivers, which, in endeavouring to discharge themselves into the ocean, find their mouths blocked up by sands, which the motion of the sea has driven there in the dry season ; that is to say, when the volume or rapidity of the waters is not sufficient to overcome this obstacle. The waters, stopped by this barrier, flow back again into the plain, where they become stagnant for a certain time, and fill the horizon with destructive exhalations, till at length, surmounting the impediment by which they were confined, they procure themselves an outlet. We shall be convinced of this fact, if we consider that the coasts are unwholesome only in the rainy season ; that the column of corrupted air never extends to any distance ; that, in the inland parts, the atmosphere is always pure ; and the banks are always wholesome in those places where, from local circumstances, the course of the rivers is uninterrupted.

By whatever winds the navigator may arrive at Madagascar, he meets with nothing but a barren sand. This sterility terminates at the distance of a league or two. Throughout the rest of the island, nature, in perpetual vegetation, produces
sponta-

spontaneously, both in the forests and in the open grounds, cotton, indigo, hemp, honey, white-pepper, sago, bananas, the Amboyna cabbage, and the ravendfara, a kind of spice little know'n, with a multitude of other nutritious plants, foreign to our climates. The whole island is covered with palms, cacao, and orange trees; gum-plants, and woods fit for construction; and useful in all the arts. There is not, properly speaking, any kind of culture, except that of rice. The rushes that grow in the morasses are pulled up; and the seed is carelessly scattered on the ground. Cattle are afterwards made to pass over it, which, by their trampling, push the grain into the soil: the rest is left to chance. There is another species of rice cultivated upon the mountains in the rainy season, and with as little care. These regions are not fertilized by the sweat of men's brows. The fruitfulness of the soil, increased by the prolific quality of the waters, must here be substituted to every kind of labour:

Oxen, sheep, hogs, and goats, feed day and night in the meadows, incessantly springing up afresh, which nature has formed at Madagascar. Neither horses, nor buffaloes, nor camels, nor any kind of beast fit for burden or for the saddle, are to be met with here, though every thing seems to bespeak that they would prosper.

It has been an opinion too lightly adopted, that gold and silver were the produce of this island. But it is an established fact, that at no great distance from the bay of Antongil, there are copper

BOOK mines that yield considerably, and mines of very
IV. pure iron in the inland parts.

THE origin of the inhabitants of Madagascar, as that of most other people, is lost in extravagant and fabulous accounts. Whether they be natives of the island, or have been transplanted there, is a question which, in all probability, will never be decided. We cannot, however, avoid thinking, that they are not all derived from one common stock, when we consider the different forms by which they are distinguished.

THIS variety certainly depends upon the general manner in which islands are formed. In times anterior to the origin of navigation, they have all been connected with some continent, from which they have been separated by those natural commotions that are but too frequently renewed. If the island hath been suddenly broken off, we shall find only one race of men upon it. If the adjacent countries have been threatened with this separation a long time before it has taken place, the imminent danger will have set all the different people in motion; and each of them will have flocked in crowds to the spot where they expected to be most secure. In the mean while, the dreadful phænomenon will have happened; and the portion of land that had been surrounded with water, will contain different races of men, having neither the same complexion nor the same stature, nor speaking the same language.

WE have every reason to think, that this has been the case with the island of Madagascar. In
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the western part of the island, we find a people called *Quimos*, who are in general not more than four feet high, and who never grow beyond four feet four inches. It is supposed, that they are now reduced to fifteen thousand souls; though they must have been more numerous before the destructive and unfortunate war, which obliged them to quit the spot on which they had first settled. Being driven from their country, they took refuge in a very fertile valley, surrounded with steep rocks, where they live, without having any intercourse with their neighbours. When their former conquerors unite to attack them in this fortunate situation, they drive a great number of oxen to the borders of these mountains. The enemy, who had no other spoil in view, seize upon the cattle, and lay down their arms, to take them up again, when they can succeed in forming another confederacy sufficiently powerful, to induce the *Quimos* to purchase peace anew.

THIS expedient, which is adapted to these weak and timid people, would by no means be suitable to a powerful nation. The pusillanimous sovereign or minister who purchases peace, invites his enemy to make war, and strengthens him for the purpose with all the money he gives, while he weakens himself in the same proportion. He is a bad politician, who conducts himself as if he had only a few years to live, and who is very little solicitous of the fate of the empire after his death.

MADAGASCAR is divided into several colonies, more or less numerous, and independent of each other. Each of these feeble communities lives

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in a district that belongs to it, and is governed by its own laws. A considerable degree of authority is lodged in a chief, who is elective in some places, hereditary in others, and sometimes a usurper. He cannot, however, engage in war without the consent of the principal members of the state, nor support it without the voluntary contributions and exertions of his people.

THE stripping of the cultivated lands, the stealing of cattle, and the carrying off of women and children, are the ordinary cause of their divisions. These rustic people are tormented with the rage of acquiring possessions by unjust and violent measures, as strongly as the most civilized nations are. Their hostilities are not destructive; but the prisoners are always made slaves.

THE people of Madagascar have not a very comprehensive idea of the right of property, from whence an inclination for labour is derived, and which is the principle of defence and of submission to government. Reasons of discontent, convenience, or necessity, easily prevail upon them to quit the spot they live on for another, which is either more fertile, or at a greater distance from their enemies. It frequently happens, even that an inhabitant of Madagascar leaves his country, merely from motives of caprice; and changes his residence again upon any new fancy, or when he is apprehensive of punishment for some outrageous act, or for some theft. He is certain of finding lands to cultivate wherever he goes; for they are never parcelled out. The

grounds are usually sow'n by the community, who afterwards share the produce. Civil right is, therefore of little consequence in these regions; but political right is still more confined.

ALTHOUGH the people of Madagascar admit the prevailing doctrine of the two principles, yet they have but a confused idea of it, nor have they any form of worship whatever. They have not the least conception of the existence of another life, and yet they believe in ghosts: but we are not to expect ideas more connected among barbarians, than we meet with among the most enlightened nations. The most fatal of their prejudices is that which has settled lucky and unlucky days; by which children that are bor'n under unfavourable auspices are inhumanly put to death. This is a cruel error, which hinders or destroys population.

Few people bear pain and affliction with so much patience as the inhabitants of Madagascar. Even the approach of death, the consequence of which their education hath not taught them to fear, never disturbs them. They expect the instant of their dissolution, a period so distressing to us, with a degree of resignation which it is not easy to conceive. It is perhaps a comfort to them to be assured, that they shall not be forgotten, when they are no more. The inhabitants of these savage regions entertain a very high sense of the respect that is due to their ancestors. It is a common thing to see men of all ages go to weep over the grave of their fathers, and to ask

B O O K advice of them in the most interesting actions of
IV. their life.

THESE robust, and rather well-made islanders, have not the same indifference for the present as they have for the future. As they are never restrained in their inclinations by the ties of morality or religion, or by that enlightened kind of police which puts a stop to the propensities of men, in order to establish the order of society, they are entirely devoted to their passions. They indulge with rapture in festivals, singing, dancing, and strong liquors, and are extravagantly addicted to women. Every instant of an idle sedentary life, free from the cravings of want, is dissipated in sensual pleasures, which are denied by nature to the savages of the north, who exhaust their powers in the search of food necessary for their miserable and precarious existence. Beside the wife whom they marry in ceremony, the inhabitants of Madagascar take as many concubines as they can get. Divorce is common among them, though nothing be so rare as jealousy. Most of them, indeed, esteem themselves honoured in having illegitimate children, when they are of a white race. The splendour of the origin compensates for the obliquity of the birth.

WE may perceive a beginning of knowledge and industry among these people. With silk, cotton, and thread made of the barks of trees, they manufacture some stuffs. They are not entirely ignorant of the art of melting and forging iron. Their earthen ware is rather agreeable to the

the eye. In several districts, they practise the mode of expressing their thoughts in writing. They have even books of history, physick, and astrology, committed to the care of their *Ombis*, who have been improperly considered as priests, and who, in fact, are impostors, who style themselves, and perhaps believe themselves to be, forcerers. This kind of knowledge, which is more diffused in the western part than in the rest of the island, has been brought by the Arabs, who have traded there from time immemorial.

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A FEW distinct acts of anger and rage, committed in the height of some violent passion, have been sufficient to calumniate the whole island of Madagascar, and stigmatize its inhabitants with the title of ferocious. On the contrary, they are naturally sociable, lively, cheerful, vain, and even impressed with sentiments of gratitude. All travellers, who have penetrated into the interior part of the island, have been kindly received there, assisted in their wants, treated as men and brethren. Upon the coasts, where mistrust is usually more prevailing, the navigators have rarely experienced any acts of violence or perfidy. Four and twenty Arabian families, which, for a number of generations, had usurped the empire in the province of Anossi, had enjoyed it for a long time unmolested, 'till they were deprived of it in 1771, without either expulsion, massacre, or oppression. In a word, the language of these islanders readily adapts itself to express sentiments of the utmost tenderness; and this circumstance alone is calculated to give us a very favourable

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Con't of
the French
at Madagaf-
car. What
they might
and ought
to have done
there.

impression of the softness of their manners, and of their social turn.

SUCH was the state of Madagascar, when four French vessels arrived there, in 1665. The Company that had sent them out was resolved to form a solid establishment on this island. The project was wise, and it did not appear that the execution of it would be expensive.

ALL the colonies which the Europeans have established in America, to obtain the produce of that part of the world; or all those they have fixed at the Cape of Good Hope, and in the isles of France, of Bourbon, and St. Helena, for the cultivation of their commerce to the Indies, have required enormous expences, a long space of time, and considerable labours. Many of these countries were entirely desert, and in others there were only found inhabitants, whom it was impossible to render useful. Madagascar, on the contrary, presented a soil naturally fertile, and a numerous, tractable, and intelligent set of inhabitants, who wanted only instruction to enable them effectually to assist in any purpose that was intended.

THESE islanders were harassed with the state of war and anarchy in which they continually lived. They ardently wished for a police which might make them enjoy peace and liberty. It was no matter of doubt; but that with dispositions so favourable, they would readily concur in any attempts made to civilize them.

NOTHING was more easy than to have made this island of considerable utility. With proper attention,

attention, Madagascar might have produced a multitude of commodities fit for India, for Persia, for Arabia, and for the continent of Africa. By inviting a few Indians and Chinese to this spot, all the arts and cultures of Asia would have been naturalized in the island. It was easy to construct ships there, because materials were to be found for this purpose of the best quality, and in plenty; and they might even have been readily equipped, because the inhabitants displayed a turn for navigation. All these innovations would have acquired more solidity than the conquests of the Europeans in the East Indies can ever have; for the natives of those regions will never adopt our laws, our manners, or our mode of worship; and consequently they will never have that kind of favourable disposition, which attaches people to a new form of government.

It was impossible that so fortunate a revolution could have been effected by violence. A numerous, brave, and uncivilized people, would never have submitted to the chains with which a few barbarous foreigners might have wished to load them. It was by the soft mode of persuasion; it was by the seducing prospect of happiness; it was by the allurements of a quiet life; it was by the advantages of our police, by the enjoyments attending our industry, and by the superiority of our talents, that the whole island was to be brought to concur in a plan equally advantageous to both nations.

THE system of legislation which it would have been proper to give to these people, should have been

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been adapted to their manners, their character, and their climate. It must have been in every respect the reverse of the legislation of Europe, corrupted and embarrassed by the barbarism of feudal customs. However simple this system might have been, the several parts could only have been proposed successively, and in proportion as the understanding of the people should have become enlightened and improved. Perhaps it might even have been proper to lay aside all thoughts of conciliating to it the minds of those men in whom age had strengthened the prejudices of custom; perhaps it might have been necessary to endeavour to make partizans only of young men, who, formed by our institutions, would, in process of time, have become political missionaries, and might have increased the number of proselytes to the system of government.

THE grand system of civilization would still have been promoted, by the intermarriage of the women of the island with the French colonists. This tie, so endearing, and of so tender a nature, would have extinguished those odious distinctions, which cherish perpetual hatred and everlasting division, between people who inhabit the same region, and live under the same laws.

It would have been repugnant to every system of equity and policy, to seize arbitrarily upon any district of land, in order to fix new families upon it. The nation assembled should have been asked for those lands which were unoccupied; and, in order to give more solidity to the acquisition, Government might have given a price for them

them which would have been agreeable to these islanders. These lands, thus legitimately acquired, would for the first time have been legally possessed; and the right of property would gradually have been established from one person to another. In process of time, the several colonies of Madagascar would readily have adopted an innovation, the advantages of which cannot be rendered less conspicuous by the effect of any prejudice.

THE more useful the colonies that might have been founded at Madagascar were like to prove, the more proper it was to choose situations well adapted to the purpose of cultivating, extending, encouraging, and preserving these advantages. Exclusive of a settlement which it would, perhaps, have been expedient to form in the interior part of the island, in order to obtain the confidence of the inhabitants in the first instance; it was indispensibly necessary to form four upon the coast. One at Saint Austin's Bay, which would have opened an easy communication with the continent of Africa; another at Luquez, where a considerable and a constant degree of heat would have made all the plants of India prosper; the third at Fort Dauphin, which, from its mild and wholesome temperature, was well calculated for the cultivation of corn, and of most European productions: and lastly, the fourth at Tamerave, the most fertile, populous, and best cultivated district of the country. This last position deserved even the preference of being made the capital

capital of the colony ; and for the following reasons.

THERE is no harbour know'n at Madagascar. It is a mistake to suppose, that it would be possible to form one at Fort Dauphin, by raising a pier upon some shoals which advance into the sea. The labour attending such an enterprize would not only be immense, but the expence would also be useless. It would be impossible that ships which cannot be defended from the hurricanes by the mountains themselves, should ever be sheltered by a pier. Besides, this factitious port, open in part to the fury of the waves, would necessarily be of small extent. The ships would have no sea room ; and if once loosened from their anchors, would all run aground ; and they would perish without resource upon a coast, where the sea is constantly agitated, and where the sands are in continual motion.

THE situation at Tametave is different. The bay, when freed from that inconvenient bar, which extends along all the eastern coast of Madagascar, is very spacious. The anchorage is good, and the vessels are sheltered from the hardest winds. The landing is easy. If the bed of the great river, that discharges itself into the bay, were to be digged for the space of a league and a half, ships of the largest burden might then be brought up to the lake of Nosse-Bé, where nature has formed an excellent harbour. In the midst of it is an island, the air of which is very pure, and which might be easily defended. There is
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one fortunate circumstance in this situation, which BOOK
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is, that with a few precautions, the entrance of it might be shut against an enemy's squadrons.

SUCH were the advantages which the French Company might have derived from Madagascar. The conduct of their agents unfortunately destroyed these brilliant expectations. Lost to every sense of shame, they secreted part of the funds intrusted to their management; they wasted still more considerable sums in useless and ridiculous expences; they made themselves equally odious to the Europeans, whose labours they ought to have encouraged, as to the natives of the country, whom they should have gained over by gentleness and by favours. Acts of iniquity and misfortunes were multiplied to such a degree, that in 1670 the members of the Company thought proper to resign into the hands of government a possession which they held from it's gift. The change of administration did not produce better management. Most of the French who had remained in the island were massacred two years after. Those who had escaped this memorable butchery, withdrew themselves for ever from a soil which was less stained with their blood than with their crimes.

At different and distant intervals the court of Versailles has had an eye upon Madagascar, but without ever being sensible of it's real value. It was necessary that France should lose all her trade, and all her consideration in India, in order to be thoroughly satisfied of the importance of an island, the possession of which would probably
have

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have preserved her from these calamities. Since this fatal period, the French have shew'n a desire to form a settlement upon it. They ought not to be discouraged by the ill success of the two attempts of 1770 and 1773, because these were made without plan, and without means; and that instead of employing in them the superfluous inhabitants of Bourbon, a set of pacific and wise men, inured to the climate, none but vagabonds collected from the scum of Europe were sent there. Measures more prudent and better concerted cannot fail of having the desired effect. It is not from motives of policy alone that the French should strive against the difficulties inseparable from such an enterprize; the voice of humanity should speak louder, and with greater energy than that of interest.

WHAT glory would it be for France to raise a numerous people from the horrors of barbarism; to give them decent manners, a well regulated policy, wise laws, a beneficent religion; to introduce among them the agreeable as well as the useful arts, and to raise them to the rank of enlightened and civilized nations! Statesmen, may the wishes of philosophy, may the wishes of a citizen, awaken your attention! If it be a glorious act to change the face of the universe, in order to increase general felicity; and if the honour that results from it belong to those who hold the reins of empire; let me inform you that they are equally accountable to the present age, and to future generations, not only for all the mischief they may do, but likewise for all the good

good which they might do, and have neglected. BOOK
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If you be desirous of real glory among your contemporaries, what more deserved fame than that which I propose can you be in pursuit of? If you wish to immortalize your name, consider, that monuments of bronze are more or less rapidly destroyed by time. Intrust the care of your reputation to beings who will perpetuate it by regeneration. The statue is silent, but mankind will speak. Let them, therefore, speak of you with praise. If corruption should afterwards insinuate itself into the wise system of legislation you have established, then it is that you will be truly revered. The age in which you lived will be called to mind, and tears will be bestowed upon your memory. Tears of admiration will be shed for you during your life, and tears of regret, many ages after your death.

THE India Company had not such elevated views, when in 1670 they thought proper to abandon Madagascar. At that period it was that their ships sailed directly to India. By the intrigues of Marcara, a native of Ispahan, but in the French interest, they obtained leave to establish factories in several places on the coast of the peninsula. They even attempted to secure a share of the Japan trade. Colbert offered to send none but protestants; but by the artifices of the Dutch, the French were denied an entrance into that empire, as the English had been before.

SURAT had been pitched upon for the center of all the business which the Company was to carry on in these parts. It was from this capital of Guzarat

The French
make Surat
the center of
their trade.

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Guzarat that all orders were to be issued for the inferior settlements : and there it was that the different merchandise destined for Europe was to be collected.

Account of
the Guzarat
in which
this city is
situated.

GUZARAT forms a peninsula between the Indus and Malabar. It is about one hundred and sixty miles in length, and nearly the same in breadth. It is separated from the kingdom of Agra by the mountains of Arva. There is not a province in Indostan in which the soil is more fertile, better watered, or intersected by a greater number of rivers. It were to be wished, that the climate were not burnt up during three months in the year, by a most violent South wind. This country was already in possession of great advantages, when a foreign colony came to increase it's prosperity.

In the seventh century, the last king of Persia, of the dynasty of the Sanasides, was dethroned by the Mohammedans. Several of his subjects, dissatisfied with the conqueror, took refuge in the province of Sablufstan, from whence, a century after, they came to the island of Ormus. In a short time they set sail for India, and landed fortunately at Diu. Not contented still with this asylum, they reimbarbed ; and the waves drove them upon a pleasant shore between Daman and Baçaim. The prince who governed that district consented to receive them, on condition only that they should reveal the mysteries of their faith ; that they should lay down their arms, that they should speak the language of the country, that their women should go abroad unveiled, and that they should celebrate their nuptials at the close of
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the evening, according to the custom of the country. As these stipulations contained nothing repugnant to their religious notions, the people who fled there for protection agreed to them. A piece of ground was allotted them, where they built a town, from whence they soon spread further up the country.

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A HABIT of labour happily contracted by necessity made them prosper. Prudent enough not to interfere with affairs of government or war, they enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midst of all the revolutions that happened from time to time. In consequence of this circumspection, and of the affluence in which they lived, their number increased considerably. They always remained a separate people, distinguished by the name of *Parfes*; never intermarrying with the Indians, and adhering to the religious principles which had obliged them to quit their country. Their tenets were those of *Zoroaster*, somewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciousness of the priests.

THE industry and activity of the new inhabitants, communicated itself to the hospitable nation that had so wisely given them an asylum. Sugar, corn, indigo, and other productions were naturalized upon a soil, which before had been principally covered with rice grounds. The fruits of the earth, and cattle were multiplied, varied, and brought to perfection. The fields of India displayed, for the first time, those hedges, inclosures, and other useful and rural objects which embellish and enrich some of our regions.

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Manufactures made an equal progress with cultivation. Cotton assumed a more beautiful appearance, and silk was at length manufactured in the province. The increase of subsistence, of labour, and of population, extended, in process of time, foreign connections.

THE splendour of Guzarat excited the ambition of two formidable powers. While the Portuguese annoyed it on the side of the sea by the ravages they committed, by the victories they gained, and by the conquest of Diu, justly esteemed the bulwark of the kingdom; the Moguls, already masters of the north of India, and eager to advance toward the southern parts where trade and riches were to be found, threatened it from the continent.

BADUR, a Patan by birth, who then reigned over Guzarat, saw how impossible it would be for him at once to withstand two such enemies, equally bent upon his destruction. He thought he had less to fear from a people whose forces were separated from his dominions by immense seas, than from a nation firmly settled on the frontiers of his provinces. This consideration made him determine to be reconciled with the Portuguese. The concessions he made induced them to join with him against Akbar, whose activity and courage they dreaded little less than he did.

THIS alliance disconcerted men who thought they had only Indians to deal with. They could not think of engaging with Europeans, who were reputed invincible. The natives, not yet recovered from the consternation into which these conquerors

querors had throw'n them, represented them to the Mogul soldiers as men come down from heaven, or risen from the waters, of a species infinitely superior to the Asiatics, and far surpassing them in valour, genius, and knowledge. The army, seized with a panic, was urging the generals to march back to Delhi, when Akbar, convinced that a prince who undertakes a great conquest must command his own forces, hastened to his camp. He did not hesitate to promise his troops that they should subdue a people enervated by luxury, riches, pleasures, and the heat of the climate; and that the glory of purging Asia of that handful of banditti was reserved for them. The army, thus encouraged, expressed their satisfaction, and marched on with confidence. They soon came to an engagement; the Portuguese, ill seconded by their allies, were surrounded and cut to pieces; Badur fled, and never appeared again. All the cities of Guzarat hastened to open their gates to the conqueror. This fine kingdom, in 1565, became a province of that vast empire which was soon to subdue all Indostan.

UNDER the Mogul government, which was then in it's full glory, Guzarat enjoyed more tranquillity than before. This state of security gave a new impulse to every individual. All the powers of the mind were unfolded; and every species of industry acquired a degree of improvement before unknow'n. It became necessary to find a staple where all these treasures were to be collected; and Surat came into possession of this valuable prerogative.

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Origin and
progress of
Surat.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Surat was nothing more than a mean hamlet, consisting of some fishermen's huts, standing upon the river Tapti, at a few miles distance from the ocean. The advantage of it's situation drew there some workmen and some merchants. They were plundered three or four times by pirates; and it was to put a stop to these destructive inroads, that a fortress was built in 1524. At this period, the place acquired a degree of importance which had considerably increased, when the Moguls made themselves masters of it. As this was the only maritime town which had then submitted to their yoke, they contracted the habit of providing themselves with all their articles of luxury from thence. On the other hand, the Europeans, who had not any of the great settlements they have since made at Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel, bought most of their Indian merchandise there. They were all collected at this spot, as the people of Surat had taken care to form a navy superior to that of their neighbours.

THEIR ships, which lasted for ages, were mostly of a thousand or twelve hundred tons burthen. They were built of a very strong wood called Teck. Instead of launching them with a costly apparatus and complicated engines, they let the tide into the dock, as we have done since, and thus set them afloat. The cordage was made of the outward bark of the cocoa-tree; it was rougher and less pliable than our's, but at least as strong. If their cotton sails were neither so

strong nor so lasting as our hempen ones, they were more easily folded, and less apt to be torn. Instead of pitch, they made use of the gum of a tree called Damar; which was as good, or better. The skill of their officers, though but moderate, was sufficient for the seas and the seasons in which they sailed. With regard to their sailors, commonly called Lascars, the Europeans have found them serviceable in their voyages from one part of India to another. They have even been employed successfully in bringing home into our stormy latitudes such ships as had lost their crews.

WHEN we hardly suspected that commerce was founded on any certain principles, we found that these principles were already known and practised in this part of Asia. Money was to be had there at a low price, and bills of exchange might be obtained for every market in India. Insurances for the most distant navigations were very common. Such was the honesty of these traders, that bags of money, ticketed and sealed by the bankers, would circulate for years, without ever being counted or weighed. Fortunes were proportioned to the facility with which they were to be acquired by industry. Those of five or six millions * were not uncommon, and some were even more considerable.

THESE fortunes were mostly possessed by the Banians, a set of traders noted for their honesty. A few moments were sufficient for them to com-

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Manners of
the inhabitants
of
Surat.

* About 240,000l. on an average.

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plete the most important concerns. These were generally transacted in the public markets. The person who wished to sell, announced in few words, and in a low voice, the value of his merchandise. He was answered by another man taking hold of his hand in a concealed manner. The buyer used to signify, by the number of fingers which he bent, or extended, how much less than the price required he meant to give; and thus the bargain was most frequently concluded, without a single word having passed between the parties. In order to ratify it, the contractors used to take hold of each other's hand a second time; and an agreement made with this degree of simplicity was always inviolable. If difficulties arose, a circumstance which very rarely happened, these prudent men preserved, in the most complicated discussions, an evenness of temper, and a degree of politeness, which it would not be easy for us to form any conception of.

THEIR children, who assisted at all bargains, were early trained to this gentleness of manners. Upon the first dawning of reason, they were initiated into all the mysteries of trade. It was a common thing to see a child, of ten or twelve years old, able to supply his father's place. What a contrast, what a difference, between this and the education of our children; and yet, what a distance between the attainments of the Indians and the progress of our knowledge!

SUCH of the Banians as had Abyssinian slaves, a circumstance very uncommon among these good-

good-natured men, treated them with a degree of humanity which must appear singular to us. They brought them up as if they had been of their own family, trained them to business, advanced them money to enable them to trade for themselves, and not only suffered them to enjoy the profits, but even allowed them to dispose of these advantages in favour of their descendants, if they had any, BOOK
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THE expences of the Banians were not proportioned to their fortunes. As they were restrained by the principles of their religion from eating meat, or drinking strong liquors, they lived upon fruits, and a few plain dishes. They never departed from this frugality, except upon the settlement of their children. On this single occasion, no expence was spared for the entertainment, the music, the dancing, and the fireworks. Their whole ambition was to tell how much the wedding had cost. Sometimes it amounted to a hundred thousand crowns*.

EVEN their women had a taste for this simplicity of manners; and all their ambition consisted in making themselves agreeable to their husbands. Perhaps the great veneration, in which they held the nuptial tie, arose from the custom of marrying them in their earliest infancy. That sentiment was, in their opinion, the most sacred part of their religion. They never allowed themselves the least conversation with strangers. Less reserve would not have satisfied their husbands, who could

* 12,500l.

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not hear, without astonishment, of the familiarity that prevailed between the two sexes in Europe. When they were told, that this freedom was attended with no ill consequence, they were not convinced; but shook their heads, and answered by one of their proverbs, which signifies, *That if you bring butter too near the fire, you can hardly keep it from melting.*

WITH different customs, the Parsees had still a more respectable character. They were robust, handsome, and indefatigable men, adapted to all kinds of labour, but excelling particularly in the building of ships, and in agriculture. Such was their mildness and upright conduct, that they were never called up before a magistrate for any act of violence, or any fraudulent contract. The serenity of their minds was painted on all their features, and in every look; and their conversation was animated by a temperate cheerfulness. They delighted in rhymes, and seldom spoke, even about the most serious affairs, otherwise than in verse. They had no fixed place of worship; but they used to assemble every morning and evening upon the high road, or near a fountain, to adore the rising and the setting sun. Even the sight of the least spark of fire interrupted all their occupations, and excited their sensibility, in the contemplation of that beneficent luminary. Instead of burning the bodies of their dead, as the Indians did, they deposited them in towers of an extreme height, where they served as food to birds of prey. Their predilection for the followers of their religion, did not prevent them

them from being moved with the afflictions of all men, whom they assisted with generosity. Their pity extended itself even to animals. One of their most favourite inclinations was to buy slaves, to give them a good education, and to restore them afterwards to liberty. Their number, their union with each other, and their riches, sometimes rendered them suspicious to government; but these prejudices never prevailed for any length of time, against the peaceable and regular conduct of these good people. The only thing they could be censured for, was, a disgusting uncleanness, under the appearance of the most refined neatness, and a too frequent use of an intoxicating kind of liquor, peculiar to themselves. Such were the Parsees at their arrival in India; such have they maintained themselves in the midst of the revolutions that have so frequently overturned the asylum they had chosen; and such do they still remain.

How widely distant were the Moguls from these pure and austere manners! No sooner had these Mohammedans acquired the possession of Surat, than they embarked in multitudes to go to Mecca. Several of these pilgrims used to stop at the Port before their voyage; and a still greater number at their return. The conveniences of life, which were more multiplied in this famous city than in the rest of the empire, even induced many of the most opulent to fix their residence there. Their days were spent in indolence, or in pleasure. One part of the morning was employed in taking pains to arch their eye-brows, to settle

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settle their beards, and to paint their nails, and the inside of their hands. The rest of the day was devoted to riding on horseback, smoking, drinking coffee, or perfuming themselves; or was spent in reclining upon beds of roses, to hear fabulous stories recounted, and in cultivating the poppy, a kind of amusement which had the most powerful attractions for them.

THE entertainments in which these voluptuous men frequently indulged themselves, in order to prevent the tedium of a too uniform kind of life, were begun by an astonishing profusion of refreshments, sweetmeats, and the most exquisite perfumes. These quiet amusements were followed by feats of strength, or agility usually exercised by the natives of Bengal. These were succeeded by music, which might, perhaps, have been grating to a nice ear, although these orientalists delighted in it. The night was ushered in by fireworks of a less glaring light than our's, and the rest of it was exhausted by successive bands of dancers, more or less numerous according to the rank or opulence of those in whose service they were engaged. When a satiety of pleasures invited to repose, a kind of violin was introduced, which by soft, uniform, and frequently repeated sounds, lulled them to sleep. The most corrupt of them used to throw themselves into the arms of some young Abyssinian slave, and employed every artifice practised in these regions, to heighten this most infamous of all passions.

THE women were never admitted to these diversions, but they had also their dancers to themselves,

selves, and indulged in other amusements. The preference which their husbands generally gave to courtezans, stifled in their heart every sentiment of affection to them, and consequently of jealousy among themselves. Accordingly, they lived together in a tolerable state of harmony. They even went so far as to rejoice when any new companion was announced to them, because this was an increase of their society. Nevertheless they had a great influence in all important affairs, and a Mogul was almost always determined by the advice of his harem. Such of these wives as had no children, frequently went out to visit relations of their own sex. The rest might have enjoyed the same liberty, had they not preferred the honour of their sons, which is singularly made to depend upon the opinion entertained of the virtue of their mothers. They educated their children themselves with much care and tenderness, and never parted from them, not even when they quitted their father's house.

If magnificence and conveniences could supply the place of love and sentiment, a harem would have been a most delightful place of residence: every thing that could incite agreeable sensations, was lavished with profusion in these retreats, impenetrable to man. The pride of the Moguls had even ordained, that the women who should be admitted to visit them, should be presented with very rich presents the first time of their coming, and should always meet with a reception agreeable to the voluptuous taste of these climates. The European ladies, whose familiarity

with

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with the other sex was revolting to Asiatic prejudices, and who for that reason were thought to be of a very inferior tribe, were seldom allowed to penetrate into this kind of sanctuary. One of them, well know'n in England by her talents, her graces, and her spirit of observation was distinguished from the rest. The preference granted to Mrs. Draper enabled her to see and examine every thing. She did not find in these unhappy women, living in a state of confinement, that air of disdain or embarrassment, which the little opportunity of exerting their faculties might have given them. Their manners appeared to her frank and easy; and their conversation was distinguished by simplicity and softness.

ALTHOUGH the other nations settled at Surat did not carry every species of voluptuousness to excess, as the Moguls did, yet they were not without their pleasures, in a city where the public edifices were generally deficient in taste and symmetry. Private houses had, indeed, no kind of appearance; but in all those belonging to opulent persons, gardens were seen filled with the most beautiful flowers; subterraneous dwellings contrived against the intense heats prevailing through part of the year; and saloons, where fountains were playing in basons of marble, and which, by their freshness and murmurings, invited them to soft repose.

ONE of the customs most universally adopted, was bathing; and after the bath, the body was rubbed, or kneaded, as it were, like dough. This operation gave a spring to the different parts
of

of the body, and an easy circulation to the fluids, BOOK
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 The person who had undergone it thought himself almost a new being. The sort of harmony which it re-established throughout all the machine, led to a kind of intoxication, which excited an infinite variety of delightful sensations. This custom was said to be brought into India from China; and some epigrams of Martial, and declamations of Seneca, seem to hint, that it was not unknow'n to the Romans at the time when they refined upon every pleasure, as the tyrants who enslaved those masters of the world afterwards refined upon every torture.

THERE was another pleasure, still of a higher nature, perhaps, at Surat. This was derived from it's female dancers, or *Balliaderes*, a name which the Europeans have always given them, from the Portuguese. Description
of the *Balliaderes*,
more voluptuous at
Surat.

NUMBERS of these are collected together in seminaries of pleasure. The most accomplished of these societies are devoted to the richest and most frequented Pagodas. Their destination is to dance in the temples on their great festivals, and to be subservient to the pleasures of the Bramins. These priests, who have not taken the artful and deceitful vow of renouncing the enjoyment of all pleasures, in order to have an opportunity of indulging in them more freely, chuse rather to have women of their own, than at once to defile the state of celibacy or wedlock. They do not invade another man's right by adultery, but are so highly jealous of the dancers, whose worship and vows they share with the gods, that they

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they never suffer them, without reluctance, to contribute to the amusement even of kings and great men.

THE rise of this singular institution is not know'n. Probably one Bramin, who had a concubine, or a wife, associated with another Bramin, who had likewise his concubine, or his wife; and, in process of time, the mixture of so many Bramins and women occasioned so many acts of infidelity, that the women became common to all those priests. Let but a number of single persons, of both sexes, be collected in a cloyster, and a commonalty of men and women will soon take place.

By this mutual intercourse jealousy was probably extinguished; and the women were not uneasy at the increase of their numbers, nor the Bramins at that of their order. It was rather a new conquest than a rivalry.

It is no less probable, that, in order to palliate the infamy of this licentiousness in the eyes of the people, all these women were consecrated to the service of the altar; and that the people readily consented to this kind of superstition, as it insured their wives and daughters from seduction, by confining the lawless desires of these Monks to one particular spot.

THE contrivance of stamping a sacred character upon these courtezans, might possibly make parents the more willing to part with their beautiful daughters, and to consent that they should follow their calling, and devote themselves to these seminaries, from whence the superannuated women might

might return to society without disgrace: for there is no crime that may not be sanctified, no virtue that may not be debased, by the intervention of the Gods. The very notion of a Supreme Being may, in the hands of a crafty priest, be made subversive of all morality. He will affirm, not that such a thing is pleasing to the Gods, because it is good; but that such a thing is good, because it is pleasing to the Gods.

THE Bramins wanted only to gain another point, in order to complete this institution; which was, to persuade the people that it was decent, holy, and pleasing to the gods, to marry a *Balliadere* in preference to all other women, and consequently to induce them to solicit the remains of their debaucheries as a particular mark of favour.

IN every city there are other companies, not so select as the former, for the amusement of the rich, and others for their wives. Persons of every religion, and of every cast, may employ them. There are even strolling companies of them, conducted by old women, who, having been themselves trained up in these seminaries, are promoted in time to the direction of them.

THESE handsome girls have the custom, as singular as it is disgusting, of being always followed by an old deformed musician, whose employment is to beat time with an instrument of brass, which the Europeans have lately borrowed of the Turks to add to their military music, and which in India is called a *tam*. The man who holds it, is continually repeating that word with such vehemence,

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that by degrees he works himself up into dreadful convulsions; while the Balliaderes, intoxicated with the desire of pleasing, and the sweets with which they are perfumed, are at length transported beyond their senses.

THEIR dances are, in general, love pantomimes: the plan, the design, the attitudes, the time, the airs, the cadence of these ballets, are all expressive of this passion, with all it's raptures and extravagances.

EVERY thing conspires to the amazing success of these voluptuous women; the art and richness of their attire, as well as their ingenuity in setting off their beauty. Their long black hair falling over their shoulders, or braided and turned up, is loaded with diamonds, and stuck with flowers. Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched with precious stones. Even their nose jewels, an ornament which shocks us at first sight, has something pleasing in it, and sets off all the other ornaments by a certain symmetry, the effect of which, though inexplicable, is yet sensibly felt by degrees.

NOTHING can equal the care they take to preserve their breasts, as one of the most striking marks of their beauty. To prevent them from growing large or ill-shaped, they inclose them in two cases, made of an exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and buckled behind. These cases are so smooth and so supple, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, and without injuring the delicacy of the skin. The outside of these cases is covered with

with a leaf of gold studded with diamonds. This is certainly one of the most refined kind of ornaments, and the best calculated to preserve beauty. They take it off and put it on again with singular facility. This covering of the breast does not prevent the palpitations, heavings, and tender emotions of it from being perceived : it conceals nothing that can contribute to excite desire.

MOST of these dancers imagine it an addition to the beauty of their complexion, and the impression of their looks, to trace a black circle round their eyes with a hair bodkin, dipped in the powder of antimony. This borrowed beauty, celebrated by all the eastern poets, and which appeared very singular at first to the Europeans, has at length become perfectly agreeable to them.

THE whole life, the whole employment, the whole felicity of the Balliaderes, consists in the art of pleasing. It is not easy to resist their seducing manners. They are even preferred to those beauties of Cassimere, who fill the seragios of Indostan, as the fair Georgians and Circassians do those of Ispahan and Constantinople. The modesty, or rather the reserve of proud slaves, sequestered from the society of men, cannot balance the miraculous arts of these expert courtezans.

THEY were no where so much in repute as at Surat, the richest and most populous city in India. It began to decline in 1664 ; and was pillaged by the famous Sevagi, who carried off twenty-five or thirty millions*. The plunder would have been

Extent of the commerce of Surat. Revolutions it has experienced.

* About 1,200,000l. on an average.

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infinitely greater, had not the English and Dutch escaped the public calamity, by the care they had taken to fortify their factories, and had not the most valuable effects been lodged in the castle, which was out of the enemy's reach. This loss made the inhabitants more cautious. They built walls round the city to prevent the like misfortune, the effects of which were removed, when the English, in 1686, with shameful and inexcusable rapacity, stopped all the ships that were fitting out at Surat to be dispatched to the several seas. This piracy, which lasted three years, deprived this famous mart of almost every branch of trade that was not it's own peculiar property. The town was nearly reduced to it's own natural riches.

OTHER pirates have since infested those latitudes, and from time to time disturbed the trade of Surat. Even the caravans, that carried the merchandise to Agra, to Delhi, and all over the empire, were not always secured from the attacks of the subjects of the independent Rajas, which they met with on the several roads. A singular expedient was formerly contrived for the security of the caravans, which was, to put them under the protection of a woman or child, of a race esteemed sacred by the nations they dreaded. When the banditti appeared, the guardians of the caravans threatened to destroy themselves if they persisted in their resolution of plundering it, and actually did so if they did not yield to their remonstrances. These profligate men, who had not been restrained by respect of blood held sacred,

cred, were excommunicated, degraded, and cast out of their tribe. The dread of these severe punishments was sometimes a check upon avarice; but since universal commotions have prevailed in Indostan, no consideration can allay the thirst of gold.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these misfortunes, Surat is still a great trading city. The produce of the numberless manufactures throughout Guzarat is deposited in it's warehouses. A great part is carried into the inland countries; the rest is conveyed to all parts of the globe by continual voyages.

THE goods more commonly know'n are, 1st, Dutties, a kind of coarse unbleached cloth, wor'n in Persia, Arabia, Abyssinia, and the eastern coast of Africa; and blue linens, which are disposed of in the same manner, and are likewise sold to the English and Dutch for their Guinea trade.

2. THE blue and white checks of Cambaya, which are wor'n for mantles in Arabia and Turkey: some are coarse, and some fine, and some even mixed with gold for the use of the rich.

3. THE white linens of Barokia, so well know'n by the name of Bastas. As they are extremely fine, they make summer castans for the Turks and Persians. The sort of muslin, with a gold stripe at each end, with which they make their turbans, is manufactured at the same place.

4. THE printed callicoës of Amadabat, the colours of which are as bright, as fine, and as durable, as those of Coromandel. They are wor'n in Persia, in Turkey, and in Europe. The rich people of

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Java, Sumatra, and the Molucca islands, make pagnes and coverlets of these chintzes.

5. THE gauzes of Bairapour; the blue ones are worn by the common people in Persia and Turkey for their summer clothing, and the red ones by persons of higher rank. The Jews, who are not allowed by the Porte to wear white, make their turbans of these gauzes.

6. MIXED stuffs of silk and cotton, plain, striped, some with fatten stripes, some mixed with gold and silver. If they were not so dear, they would be esteemed even in Europe for the brightness of their colours, and the fine execution of the flowers, though their patterns are so indifferent. They soon wear out; but this is of little consequence in the seraglios of Turkey and Persia where they are used.

7. Some are of silk, called tapis. These are pagnes of several colours, much esteemed in the eastern parts of India. Many more would be woven, if it had not been necessary to use foreign materials, which enhance the price too much.

8. SHAULS, very light, warm, and fine cloths, made of the wool of Cassimere. They are dyed of different colours, striped, and flowered. They are worn for a winter dress in Turkey, Persia, and the more temperate parts of India. With this fine wool turbans are woven, that are ell-wide, and a little more than three ells long, which sell for as much as a thousand crowns*. Though this wool

* 125 l.

be sometimes manufactured at Surat, the finest works of this kind are made at Cassimere.

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BESIDE the prodigious quantity of cotton made use of in the manufactures of Surat, seven or eight thousand bales at least are annually dispatched to Bengal. A much greater quantity is sent to China, Persia, and Arabia, when the crops are very plentiful. If they are moderate, the overplus is carried down the Ganges, where it is always sold at a higher price.

THOUGH Surat receives, in exchange for her exports, porcelain from China; silk from Bengal and Persia; masts and pepper from Malabar; gums, dates, dried fruits, copper, and pearls, from Persia; perfumes and slaves from Arabia; great quantities of spices from the Dutch; iron, lead, cloth, cochineal, and some hard-wares from the English; the balance is so much in her favour, as to bring in yearly twenty-five or twenty-six millions of livres * in ready money. The profit would be much greater, if the riches of the court of Delhi were not conveyed into another channel.

THIS balance, however, could never rise again to what it was when the French settled at Surat in 1668. Their leader's name was Caron. He was a merchant of French extraction, who was grown old in the service of the Dutch Company. Hamilton says, that this able man, who had ingratiated himself with the emperor of Japan, had obtained leave to build a house for his masters on

* From 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d. to 1,083,333l. 6s. 8d.

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the island where the factory stood which was under his direction. This building proved to be a castle. The natives, who knew nothing of fortification, did not entertain any suspicion of it. They surprised some pieces of cannon that were sending from Batavia, and informed the court of what was going forward. Caron was ordered to repair to Jeddo, to give an account of his conduct. As he had nothing reasonable to allege in his vindication, he was treated with great severity and contempt. His beard was plucked up by the roots, a fool's cap and coat were put upon him, and in this condition he was exposed to the insults of the populace, and banished from the empire. The reception he met with at Java gave him a disgust against the interest he had espoused; and, actuated by revenge, he went over to the French, and became their agent.

Enterprise
of the
French on
the Islands
of Ceylon
and St.
Thomas.
Their set-
tlement at
Pondicherry.

SURAT, where they had fixed him, did not answer his idea of a chief settlement. He disliked the situation; he lamented his being obliged to purchase his safety by submission; he foresaw it would be a disadvantage to carry on trade in competition with richer nations, who knew more, and were in greater esteem, than themselves. He wished to find an independent port in the center of India, or in some of the Spice Islands, without which he thought it impossible for any Company to support itself. The Bay of Trinque male, in the island of Ceylon, appeared to him to unite all these advantages; and he accordingly sailed for that place with a powerful squadron, which had been sent him from Europe, under the command
of

of La Haye, who was to act under his direction. BOOK
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The French believed, or feigned to believe, that a settlement might be made there without inroaching upon the rights of the Dutch, whose property had never been acknowledged by the sovereign of the island, with whom the former had entered into a treaty.

ALL that was alleged might indeed be true; but the event was not the more successful. A project which ought to have been kept a profound secret, was divulged; an expedition which ought to have been effected by surprise, was executed deliberately; and the French were intimidated by a fleet which was not in a condition to fight, and which could not possibly have received orders to hazard an engagement. The greater part of the ships crews, and of all the land forces, perished by want and sickness; some men were left in a small fort that had been erected, where they were soon compelled to surrender. With the remaining few who had survived the hardships of this expedition, the French went in search of provisions on the coast of Coromandel; but finding none either on the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, or any where else, impelled by despair, they attacked St. Thomas, where they were informed there was great plenty.

THIS town, which had long been in a flourishing condition, had been built by the Portuguese above a hundred years before. The king of Golconda, having conquered the Carnatic, did not see without regret, so important a place in foreign hands; he sent his generals to attack it in 1662,

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and they made themselves masters of it. The fortifications, though considerable and in good repair, did not stop the progress of the French, who took them by storm in 1672. They were soon attacked here, and were forced to surrender two years after; because the Dutch, who were at war with Lewis XIV., joined with the Indians to expell them.

THIS last event would have entirely ruined the enterprize, after all the expence the government had been at to support the Company, had not Martin been one of the merchants sent on board La Haye's squadron. He collected the remains of the two colonies of Ceylon and St. Thomas, and with them he peopled the little town of Pondicherry, that had been lately ceded to him, and was rising to a city, when the Company entertained good hopes of a new settlement, which they had now an opportunity of forming in India.

The French
are invited
to Siam.
Description
of that
kingdom.

SOME missionaries had preached the gospel at Siam. They had gained the love of the people by their doctrine and by their behaviour. Plain, good-natured, and humane men, without intrigue or avarice, they gave no jealousy to the government nor to the people; they had inspired them with respect and love for the French in general, and in particular for Lewis XIV.

A GREEK, of a restless and ambitious spirit, named Constantine Faulkon, in his travels to Siam, had so far engaged the affections of the prince, that in a short time he raised him to the post of prime minister, or barcalon; an office which nearly answers to the antient *maires* of the palace of France.

FAULKON

FAULKON governed both the people and the king in the most despotic manner. The prince was weak, a valetudinarian, and had no issue. His minister conceived a project to succeed him; possibly to dethrone him. It is well known that these attempts are as easy and as frequent in absolute governments, as they are difficult and uncommon in countries where the prince governs by the rules of justice; where the origin and measure of his authority is regulated by fundamental and immutable laws, which are under the guardianship of numbers of able magistrates. There the enemies of the sovereign shew that they are enemies of the state; there they find themselves soon thwarted in their designs by all the forces of the nation; because, by rebelling against the chief, they rebel against the laws, which are the standing and unalterable will of the nation.

FAULKON formed the design of making the French subservient to his scheme, as some ambitious men had formerly made use of a guard of six hundred Japanese, who had often disposed of the crown of Siam. He sent ambassadors into France in 1684, to make a tender of his master's alliance, to offer sea-ports to the French merchants, and to ask for ships and troops.

THE ostentatious vanity of Lewis XIV. took advantage of this embassy. The flatterers of that prince, who was too much extolled, though he certainly deserved commendation, persuaded him, that his fame spread throughout the world, had procured to him the homage of the East. He was not satisfied with the enjoyment of these vain honours; but

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endeavoured to improve the dispositions of the king of Siam to the benefit of the India Company, and still more of the missionaries. He sent out a squadron in which there were a greater number of Jesuits than of traders ; and in the treaty which was concluded between the two kings, the French ambassadors, directed by the Jesuit Tachard, attended much more to the concerns of religion than to those of commerce.

THE Company still entertained great hopes of the settlement at Siam, and these hopes were not ill-grounded.

THAT kingdom, though divided by a ridge of mountains that is continued till it meets with the rocks of Tartary, is so prodigiously fruitful, that many of it's cultivated lands yield two hundred per cent. Some will even bear plentiful crops spontaneously. The corn, collected as it was at first produced, without care and without trouble, left as it were to nature, falls off and perishes in the field where it grew, in order to vegetate again in the waters of the stream that flows through the kingdom.

THERE is, perhaps, no country where fruits grow in such plenty and variety, or are so wholesome, as in this delightful spot. Some are peculiar to the country ; and those which are equally the produce of other countries have a much finer smell, and are much higher flavoured, than in any other part of the world.

THE earth, always covered with these treasures, which are constantly springing up afresh, also conceals, under a very superficial surface, mines
of

of gold, copper, loadstone, iron, lead, and calin, BOOK
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a species of tin, which is highly valued throughout Asia.

ALL these advantages are rendered useless by the most dreadful tyranny. A prince corrupted by his power, while he is indulging in his seraglio, oppresses his people by his caprices, or suffers them to be oppressed by his indolence. At Siam there are no subjects, all are slaves. The men are divided into three classes: the first serve as a guard to the monarch, till his lands, and are employed in different manufactures in his palace. The second are appointed to public labours, and to the defence of the state. The third class are destined to serve the magistrates, the ministers, and principal officers of the kingdom. Every Siamese advanced to any eminent post, is allowed a certain number of men who are at his disposal; so that the salaries annexed to great officers are well paid at the court of Siam, because they are not paid in money, but in men, who cost the prince nothing. These unfortunate people are registered at the age of sixteen. Every one on the first summons must repair to the post assigned him, upon pain of being put in irons, or condemned to the bastinado.

In a country where all the men must work for the government during six months in the year, without being paid or subsisted, and during the other six to earn a maintenance for the whole year; in such a country, the very lands must feel the effects of tyranny, and consequently there is no property. The delicious fruits that enrich the gardens of the monarch

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monarch and the nobles, are not suffered to ripen in those of private men. If the soldiers who are sent out to examine the orchards discover some tree laden with choice fruits, they never fail to mark it for the tyrant's table, or that of his ministers. The owner becomes the guardian of it, and is answerable for the fruit under very severe penalties.

THE men are not only slaves to men, but also to the beasts. The king of Siam keeps a great number of elephants. Those of his palace are particularly taken care of, and have extraordinary honours paid to them. The meanest have fifteen slaves to attend them, who are constantly employed in cutting hay, and gathering bananas and sugar-canes for them. The king takes so much pride in these creatures, which are of no real use, that he estimates his power rather by their number than by that of his provinces. Under pretence of feeding these animals well, their attendants will drive them into gardens and cultivated lands, that they may trample upon them, unless the owners will purchase an exemption from these vexations by continual presents. No man would dare to inclose his field against the king's elephants, many of whom are decorated with honourable titles, and advanced to the highest dignities in the state.

THESE horrors are revolting to our minds; and yet we have no right to discredit them; we who boast of some philosophy, and of a milder kind of government; and who nevertheless live in a kingdom where the wretched peasant is loaded with

with irons, if he should dare to mow his meadow, or to disturb his field during the season of the coupling and hatching of the partridges; where he is obliged to leave his vines to the mercy of the rabbits, and suffer his harvest to become a prey to deers, stags, and boars; and where he would be sentenced to the galleys, if he had the boldness to strike, either with his whip, or with a stick, any of these voracious animals. BOOK
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SUCH various acts of tyranny make the Siamese detest their native country, though they consider it as the best upon earth. Most of them fly from oppression into the forests, where they lead a savage life, infinitely preferable to that of society corrupted by despotism. So great is this desertion, that, from the port of Mergui to Juthia the capital of the empire, one may travel for a week together, without meeting with the least sign of population, through an immense extent of country, well watered, the soil of which is excellent, and still bears the marks of former cultivation. This fine country is now over-run with tigers.

It was formerly inhabited by men. Beside the natives, it was full of settlements that had been successively formed there by the nations situated to the east of Asia. Their inducement was the immense trade carried on there. All historians attest, that in the beginning of the sixteenth century a great number of ships came into these roads every year. The tyranny which prevailed soon after, successively destroyed the mines, the manufactures, and agriculture. All the foreign merchants, and even those of the nation, were involved in the same

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same ruin. The state fell into confusion, and consequently became languid. The French, on their arrival, found it thus reduced. General poverty prevailed, and none of the arts were exercised; while the people were under the dominion of a despotic tyrant, who, in attempting to monopolize all the trade, inevitably destroyed it. The few ornaments and articles of luxury that were consumed at court, and in the houses of the great, came from Japan. The Siamese held the Japanese in high estimation, and preferred their works to all others.

Advantages
which the
French
might have
derived from
Siam. The
errors which
occasioned
the loss of
them.

It was no easy matter to divert them from this attachment, and yet it was the only way of procuring a demand for the produce of French industry. If any thing could effect this change, it was the Christian religion, which the priests of the foreign missions had preached to them, and not without success; but the Jesuits, too much devoted to Faulkon, who began to be odious, abused the favour they enjoyed at Court, and drew upon themselves the hatred of the people. This odium was transferred from them to their religion. They built churches before there were any christians to frequent them. They founded monasteries, and by these proceedings occasioned the common people and the Talapoys to revolt. The Talapoys are the monks of the country; some of whom lead a solitary life, and others are busy intriguing men. They preach to the people the doctrines and precepts of Sommona Kodom. That lawgiver of the Siamese was long honoured as a sage, and has since been revered as a god, or as an emanation of the deity,

deity, a son of God. A variety of marvellous stories are told of this man: He lived upon one grain of rice a-day. He pulled out one of his eyes to give to a poor man, having nothing else to bestow on him. Another time he gave away his wife. He commanded the stars, the rivers, and the mountains. But he had a brother, who frequently opposed his designs for the good of mankind. God avenged him, and crucified that unhappy brother. This fable had prejudiced the Siamese against the religion of a crucified God; and they could not worship Jesus Christ, because he died the same death as the brother of Sommona Kodom.

If the French could not carry their commodities to Siam, they could at least gradually inspire the people with a taste for them, prepare the way for a great trade with this country, and avail themselves of that which actually offered, to open connections with all the east. The situation of that kingdom between two gulphs, where it extends one hundred and sixty leagues along the sea-coast on the one gulph, and about two hundred on the other, would have opened the navigation of all the seas in that part of the world. The fortress of Bancoc built at the mouth of the Menan, which had been put into the hands of the French, was an excellent mart for all transactions they might have had with China, the Philippines, or any of the eastern parts of India. Mergui, the principal port of the kingdom, and one of the best in Asia, which had likewise been ceded to them, would have greatly facilitated their trade with the coast of Coromandel, and chiefly with Bengal.

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It secured to them an advantageous intercourse with the kingdoms of Pegu, Ava, Arracan, and Lagos, countries still more barbarous than Siam, but where the finest rubies in the world, and some gold dust are to be found. All these countries, as well as Siam, produce the tree which yields that valuable gum, with which the Chinese and Japanese make their varnish; and whoever is in possession of this commodity, may be certain of carrying on a very lucrative trade with China and Japan.

BESIDE the advantage of meeting with good settlements, which were no expence to the Company, and might throw into their hands a great part of the trade of the east, they might have brought home from Siam, ivory, logwood, like that which is cut in the bay of Campeachy, a great deal of cassia, and all the buffalo and deer-skins that the Dutch formerly brought from thence. They might have grow'n pepper there, and, possibly, other spices which were not to be found in the country, as the people did not understand the culture of them, and because the wretched inhabitants of Siam are so indifferent to every thing, that nothing succeeds with them.

THE French paid no regard to these objects. The factors of the Company, the officers, and the Jesuits, were equally ignorant of trade: the whole attention of the latter was taken up in converting the natives, and making themselves masters of them. At last, after having given but a weak assistance to Faulkon at the instant when he was ready to execute his designs, they were involved

in his disgrace ; and the fortresses of Mergui and Bancoc, defended by French troops, were taken from them by the most cowardly of all people.

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DURING the short time that the French were settled at Siam, the Company endeavoured to establish themselves at Tonquin. They flattered themselves that they might trade with safety and advantage with a nation which had for about seven centuries been instructed by the Chinese. Theism prevails among them, which is the religion of Confucius, whose precepts and writings are there holden in greater veneration than even in China. But there is not the same agreement as in China in the principles of government, religion, laws, opinion, rites, and ceremonies : and though Tonquin has the same law-giver, it is far from having the same system of morality. We find there neither that respect for parents, that love for the prince, those reciprocal affections, nor those social virtues, which are met with in China ; nor have they the same good order, police, industry, or activity.

Views of
the French
upon Ton-
quin and
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scription of
these coun-
tries.

THIS nation, which is devoted to excessive indolence, and is voluptuous without taste or delicacy, lives in constant distrust of its sovereigns and of strangers. It is doubtful whether this mistrust proceeds from a natural restlessness of temper, or whether their spirit of sedition be owing to this circumstance, that the Chinese system of morality has enlightened the people without improving the government. Whatever be the progress of knowledge, whether it come from the people to the government, or from that to the people, it

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is necessary that both should be enlightened at the same time, or else the state will be exposed to fatal revolutions. Accordingly, in Tonquin, there is a continual struggle between the eunuchs who govern, and the people who impatiently bear the yoke. Every thing languishes and tends to ruin, in consequence of these dissensions; and the calamities must increase, till the people have compelled their masters to grow wiser, or the masters have rendered their subjects quite insensible. The Portuguese and the Dutch, who had attempted to form some connections in Tonquin, had been forced to give them up. The French were not more successful. No Europeans have since carried on that trade, except some few merchants of Madras, who have alternately forsaken and resumed it. They divide with the Chinese the exportation of copper and ordinary silks, the only commodities of any value that country affords.

COCHINCHINA lay too near to Siam not to draw the attention of the French; and they would probably have fixed there, had they had sagacity enough to foresee what degree of splendour that rising state would one day acquire. The Europeans are indebted to a philosophical traveller for what little they know with certainty of that fine country. The following is the result of his observations:

WHEN the French arrived in those distant regions, they learned, that, about half a century before, a prince of Tonquin, as he fled from his sovereign, who pursued him as a rebel, had with his soldiers

soldiers and adherents crossed the river, which serves as a barrier between Tonquin and Cochinchina. The fugitives, who were warlike and civilized people, soon expelled the scattered inhabitants, who wandered about without any society or form of government, or without any law, except that of mutual interest, which prompted them not to injure one another. Here they founded an empire upon the basis of agriculture and property. Rice was the food the most easily cultivated, and the most plentiful; upon this article, therefore, the new colonists bestowed their first attention. The sea and the rivers attracted a number of inhabitants to their borders, by the profusion of excellent fish they afforded. Domestic animals were bred in the country; some for food, others for labour. The inhabitants cultivated the trees they were most in want of, such as the cotton for their clothing. The mountains and forests, which could not be cultivated, afforded wild fowl, metals, gums, perfumes, and wood of an excellent kind. These productions served as so many materials, means, and objects of commerce. One hundred galleys were built, which are constantly employed in defending the coasts of the kingdom.

ALL these several advantages of nature were well bestowed upon a people of a mild and humane disposition, which they partly owe to their women: whether this influence they acquire be owing to their beauty, or whether it be the particular effect of their assiduity and of their skill in business, is not easy to determine: in general we

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observe, that in the first beginning of all societies, the women are sooner civilized than the men. Even their weakness, and their sedentary life, their being more taken up with various details, and with cares of a less important nature, furnish them sooner with that knowledge and experience, and incline them to those domestic attachments, which are the first promoters and strongest ties of society. This is, perhaps, the reason why, in many savage nations, the women are intrusted with the administration of civil government, which is but a higher degree of domestic œconomy. So long as the state is but as one great family, the women are capable of undertaking the management of it. Then, undoubtedly, the people are happiest, especially in a climate where nature has left but little for man to do.

SUCH is the climate of Cochinchina. Accordingly, the people, though but imperfectly civilized, enjoy that happiness which might excite the envy of more improved societies. They have neither robbers nor beggars. Every one is at liberty to live at his own house, or at his neighbour's. A traveller freely enters a house in any village, sits down to table, eats and drinks, without being invited or asked any questions, and then goes away without acknowledging the civility. He is a man, and therefore a friend and relation of the family. If he were a foreigner, he would excite more curiosity, but would be equally welcome.

THESE customs are the relics of the government of the first six kings of Cochinchina, and derived

derived from the original contract entered into between the nation and their leader, before they crossed the river that divides Tonquin from Cochinchina. These men were weary of oppression. They dreaded the like calamity, and therefore took care to guard against the abuse of authority, which is so apt to transgress its due limits, if not kept under some restraint. Their chief, who had set them an example of liberty, and taught them to revolt, promised them that felicity which he himself chose to enjoy; that of a just, mild, and parental government. He cultivated with them the land in which they had all taken refuge. He never demanded any thing of them, except an annual and voluntary contribution, to enable him to defend the nation against the tyrant of Tonquin, who, for a long time, pursued them beyond the river which separated them from him.

THIS primitive contract was religiously observed for upwards of a century, under five or six successors of that brave deliverer; but at last it has been infringed. The reciprocal and solemn engagement between the king and his people is still renewed every year in the face of heaven and earth, in a general assembly of the whole nation, collected in an open field, where the oldest man presides, and where the king only assists as a private person. He still honours and protects agriculture, but does not, like his predecessors, set the example of labour to his subjects. When he speaks of them, he still says, *they are my children*; but they are no longer so. His courtiers have stiled

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themselves his slaves, and have given him the pompous and sacrilegious title of *king of heaven*. From that moment, men must have appeared to him but as so many insects creeping on the ground. The gold which he has taken out of the mines, has put a stop to agriculture. He has despised the homely roof of his ancestors, and would build a palace. It's circumference has been marked out, and is a league in extent. Thousands of cannon planted round the walls of this palace, make it formidable to the people. A despotic monarch resides there, who in a short time will be secluded from the eyes of the people; and this concealment, which characterises the majesty of eastern kings, will substitute the tyrant to the father of the nation.

THE discovery of gold has naturally brought on that of taxes; and the administration of the finances will soon take place of civil legislation and social contract. Contributions are no longer voluntary, but extorted. Designing men go to the king's palace, and craftily obtain the privilege of plundering the provinces. With gold they at once purchase a right of committing crimes and the privilege of impunity; they bribe the courtiers, elude the vigilance of the magistrates, and oppress the husbandman. The traveller already sees, as he passes along, fallow grounds, and whole villages forsaken by their inhabitants. This *king of heaven*, like the gods of Epicurus, carelessly suffers plagues and calamities to vex the land. He is ignorant of the sufferings and distresses of his people, who will soon fall into a state of annihilation,

hilation, like the savages whose territories they now possess. All nations governed by despotism must inevitably perish in this manner. If Cochin-china should relapse into that state of confusion out of which it emerged about a hundred and fifty years ago, it will be wholly disregarded by the navigators who now frequent the ports of that kingdom. The Chinese, who carry on the greatest trade there, get in exchange for their own commodities wood for small work, and timber for building houses and ships.

THEY also export from thence an immense quantity of sugar, the raw at four livres * a hundred weight, the white at eight †, and sugar-candy at ten ‡: very good silk, sattins, and pitre, the fibres of a tree, not unlike the banana, which they fraudulently mix in their manufactures: black and ordinary tea, which serves for the consumption of common people: and such excellent cinnamon, that it sells three or four times dearer than that of Ceylon. There is but a small quantity of this; as it grows only upon one mountain, which is always surrounded with guards. Excellent pepper is another article; and such pure iron, that they work it as it comes out of the mine, without smelting: gold of three and twenty carrats, which is found there in greater plenty than in any other part of the East: aloes-wood, which is more or less esteemed as it is more or less resinous. The pieces that contain most of this resin are commonly taken from the heart, or from

* 3s. 4d.

† 6s. 8d.

‡ 8s. 4d.

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the root of the tree. They are called calunbac, and are always sold for their weight in gold to the Chinese, who account them the highest cordial in nature. They are carefully preserved in pewter-boxes, to keep them from drying. When they are to be administered, they are ground upon a marble, with such liquids as are best suited to the disorder they are intended to remove. The inferior kind of aloes-wood, which always sells for a hundred livres * a pound at least, is carried to Persia, Turkey, and Arabia. They use it to perfume their clothes, and sometimes their apartments, upon very extraordinary occasions, and then they mix it with amber. It is also employed for another purpose. A custom prevails among these nations, when they are desirous of shewing their visitors great marks of civility, to present them with pipes, then with coffee and sweetmeats. When conversation begins to grow languid, the sherbet is brought in, which is looked upon as a hint to depart. As soon as the stranger rises to go away, they bring in a little pan with aloes-wood, and perfume his beard, sprinkling it with rose-water.

THOUGH the French, who had scarce any thing else to bring but cloth, lead, gunpowder, and brimstone, were obliged to trade with Cochin-china chiefly in money, yet they were under a necessity of pursuing this trade in competition with the Chinese. This inconvenience might have been obviated by the profit that would have been

made upon goods sent to Europe, or sold in India; but it is now too late to attempt it. Probity and honesty, the essentials of an acting and lasting trade, are forsaking these regions, which were formerly so flourishing, in proportion as the government becomes arbitrary, and consequently unjust. In a short time no greater number of ships will be seen in their harbours than in those of the neighbouring states, where they were scarcely know'n.

HOWEVER this may be, the French Company driven from Siam, and without hopes of settling at the extremities of Asia, began to regret their factory at Surat, where they dared not appear again, since they had left it without paying their debts. They had lost the only market they knew of for their cloths, their lead, and their iron; and they were continually at a loss in the purchase of goods to answer the capricious demands of the mother-country, and the wants of the colonies. By fulfilling all their former engagements, they might have recovered the privilege they had forfeited. The Mogul government, which would have wished to see a greater number of ships resorting to Surat, often solicited the French to satisfy these claims; for they preferred them to the English, who had purchased of the court an exemption from all duties. Whether it were for want of honesty, of skill, or of means, certain it is that the Company never could remove the reproach they had incurred. They confined their whole attention to the fortifying of Pondicherry, when

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The French
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when they were suddenly prevented by a bloody war, which had it's origin in remote causes.

THE northern Barbarians who had overturned the Roman empire, that was mistress of the world, established a form of government which would not admit of augmenting their conquests, and kept every state within it's natural limits. The abolition of the feudal laws, and the alterations consequent upon it, seemed to tend a second time to establish a kind of universal monarchy; but the Austrian power, weakened by the great extent of it's possessions, and their distance from each other, could not subvert the bulwarks that were raising against it. After a whole century passed in contests, hopes, and disappointments, it was forced to yield to a nation, whose strength, position, and activity, rendered her more formidable to the liberties of Europe. Richelieu and Mazarine began this revolution by their intrigues. Turenne and Condé completed it by their victories. Colbert settled it by the introduction of arts, and of all kinds of industry. If Lewis XIV. who may be said to have been not, perhaps, the greatest monarch of his age, but one who best supported the dignity of the throne, had been more moderate in the exercise of his power, and the sense of his grandeur, it is difficult to determine how far he might have carried his good fortune. His vanity proved detrimental to his ambition. After bending his own subjects to his will, he wanted to exert the same power over his neighbours. His pride raised him more enemies, than his influence and

and his genius could supply him with allies and resources. He was delighted with the flatteries of his panegyrists and courtiers, who promised him universal monarchy; and the pleasure he took in these adulations, contributed still more than the extent of his power to inspire a dread of universal conquest and slavery. The distresses and invectives of his protestant subjects, dispersed by a tyrannical fanaticism, completed the hatred he had incurred by his successes, and by the abuse he had made of his prosperity.

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THE Prince of Orange, a man of a steady, upright disposition, and of a penetrating judgment, endowed with every virtue that is consistent with ambition, became the chief instigator of all these resentments, which he had long fomented by his negotiations and his emissaries. France was attacked by the most formidable confederacy recorded in history, and yet she was constantly, and in all parts, triumphant.

SHE was not so successful in Asia as in Europe. The Dutch first endeavoured to prevail upon the natives to attack Pondicherry, which they could never be compelled to restore. The Indian prince, to whom they applied for that purpose, was not to be bribed to agree to so perfidious a proposal: His constant answer was, *The French have bought that place, it would be unjust to turn them out.* What the Raja refused to do, the Dutch did themselves: they besieged the town in 1693, and were obliged to restore it at the peace of Ryswick, in a much better condition than they found it.

MARTIN

MARTIN was again appointed director, and managed the affairs of the Company with that wisdom, skill, and integrity, which was expected from him. That able and virtuous merchant invited many new settlers to Pondicherry, and made the place agreeable to them, by the good order he maintained there, and by his moderation and justice. He acquired the favour of the neighbouring princes, whose friendship was of consequence to a weak and infant settlement. He chose or formed proper persons, whom he sent to the markets of Asia, and to the several princes of that empire. He had persuaded the French, that as they were come last to India, that as they found themselves there in a weak condition, and could not expect any assistance from their own country, they had no other way of succeeding, but by inspiring the natives with a favourable opinion of their character. He induced them to lay aside that levity, and those contemptuous airs, which so often make their nation insufferable to strangers. They grew modest, gentle, and attentive to business; they learned the art of behaving suitably to the genius of the several nations, and to particular circumstances. Those who did not confine themselves to the Company's service, frequenting different courts, became acquainted with the places where the finest stuffs were manufactured, the staples where the choicest commodities were to be met with, and, in short, with all the particulars relative to the inland trade of every country.

ALL that Martin had it in his power to accomplish, was to lay the foundation of future success to the Company, by the good opinion he gave of the French, by the pains he took to train up agents, by the informations he gained, and by the good order he maintained in Pondicherry, which daily acquired new inhabitants; but all this was not sufficient to restore the declining state of the Company, subject from it's infancy to such disorders as must at length certainly destroy it.

His first plan was to establish a great empire at Madagascar. A single voyage carried over sixteen hundred and eighty-eight persons, who were made to expect a delightful climate and a rapid fortune, and found nothing but famine, discord, and death.

Decline of
the French
Company,
and the
cause of it.

So unfortunate a beginning discouraged the adventurers from an undertaking, which they had entered upon merely with a view to follow the example of others, or in compliance with solicitations. The owners of shares had not made good their payments with so much punctuality as is required in commercial affairs. The government, which had engaged to advance, without interest, a fifth part of the sums the Company were to receive, and which as yet was only bound to furnish two millions *, again drew the same sum out of the public treasury, in hopes of supporting the work it had begun. Some time after, it's generosity was carried still further, in making a free gift of what at first was only lent.

* 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

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THIS encouragement from the ministry could not, however, enable the Company to proceed in their designs. They were forced to confine them to Surat and Pondicherry; and to abandon their settlements at Bantam, Rajapore, Tiféri, Mazulipatam, Gombroon, and Siam. No doubt they had too many factories, and some were ill situated; but the inability they were under of supporting them, was the only reason that they were abandoned.

Soon after this, it became necessary to make further advances. In 1682, they gave permission indiscriminately to French subjects and foreigners to trade to the East-Indies for five years, on the Company's ships paying the freight that should be agreed upon; and on condition that the goods brought home should be deposited in the Company's warehouses, sold at the same time with their's, and be subject to a duty of five *per cent*. The public so eagerly came into this proposal, that the directors entertained great hopes from the increase of these small profits, which would be constant without any risque. But the proprietors, less sensible of these moderate advantages, than jealous of the great profits made by the free traders, in two years time obtained a repeal of this regulation, and their charter remained in full force.

To support this monopoly with some decency, a fund was wanting. In 1684, the Company obtained from government a call upon all the proprietors, amounting to a fourth part of their property; and in case any of them failed to pay the sum required,

quired, their whole share was to be made over to those who should pay it for them, after having reimbursed them a fourth of their capital. Whether from perverseness, from particular motives, or from inability, many did not pay, so that their shares lost three-fourths of their original value; and, to the disgrace of the nation, there were men barbarous and unjust enough to enrich themselves with their spoils.

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AN expedient so dishonourable enabled them to fit out a few ships for Asia; but new wants were soon felt. Their cruel situation, which continually grew worse, put them upon demanding of the proprietors, in 1697, the restitution of the dividends of ten and twenty *per cent.* which they had received in 1687 and 1691. So extraordinary a proposal raised a general clamour. The Company were obliged to have recourse to the usual method of borrowing. These loans became more burdensome, the more they were multiplied, as the security was more precarious.

As the Company was in want both of money and credit, the emptiness of their coffers put it out of their power to afford those advantages, and that encouragement to the merchant in India, without which he will neither work, nor set others to work. This inability reduced the French sales to nothing. It is demonstrable, that from 1664 to 1684, that is, in the space of twenty years, the sum total of their produce did not exceed nine millions one hundred thousand livres*.

* 379,166l. 13s. 4d.

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To these had been added other abuses. The conduct of the administrators and agents for the Company had not been properly directed, or carefully looked into. The capital had been broken into, and dividends paid out of the stock, which ought only to have arisen from the profits. The least brilliant, and least prosperous of all reigns, had exhibited a model for a commercial company. The trade to China, the easiest, the safest, and the most advantageous that is carried on with Asia, had been given up to a particular body of merchants.

THE bloody war of 1689 added to the calamities of the India Company, even by the very successes of France. Swarms of privateers, fitted out from the several harbours in the kingdom, annoyed, by their vigilance and bravery, the trade of Holland and England. In their numberless prizes were found a prodigious quantity of India goods, which were retailed at a low price. The Company, who by this competition were forced to sell under prime cost, endeavoured to find out some expedient to save themselves from this danger, but could think of none that was reconcileable with the interest of the privateers; nor did the minister think proper to sacrifice an useful set of men to a body, which had so long wearied him with their necessities and complaints.

BESIDE these, the Company had many more causes of discontent. The financiers had shewn an open hatred for them, and were continually opposing or confining them. Supported by those vile associates which they always have at court, they

they endeavoured to put an end to the Indian trade, under the specious pretence of encouraging the home manufactures. The government was at first afraid of being exposed to reproach, by departing from the principles of Colbert, and repealing the most solemn edicts: but the farmers of the revenue found means to render those privileges useless, which the ministry would not abolish, and the Company no longer enjoyed, without being absolutely deprived of them.

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HEAVY duties were successively laid upon all India goods. Half a year seldom passed without some new regulation, sometimes to allow, sometimes to prohibit, the use of these commodities: there was a continued scene of contradictions in a part of administration, that would have required steady and invariable principles. All these variations gave the Europeans reason to think, that trade would with difficulty be established in a kingdom where all depends upon the caprices of a minister, or the interest of those who govern.

THE conduct of an ignorant and corrupt administration, the levity and impatience of the proprietors, the interested views of the controllers of finance, the oppressive spirit of the treasury, joined to other causes, had prepared the ruin of the Company. The miseries of the war, carried on for the Spanish succession, hastened their destruction.

EVERY resource was exhausted. The most sanguine saw no prospect of their being able to send out a fleet. Besides, if by unexpected good fortune

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tune some few weak vessels should be fitted out, it was to be feared they might be seized in Europe, or in India, by disappointed creditors, who must necessarily be exasperated. These powerful motives determined the Company in 1707, to consent that some rich merchants should send their own ships to India, upon condition that they should allow the Company fifteen *per cent.* profit upon the goods they should bring home, and the right of taking such share in those ships as their circumstances should admit of. Soon after this, they were even reduced to make over the whole and exclusive exercise of their privilege to some privateers of St. Malo, still reserving the same concession, which for some years past had a certain degree kept them from ruin.

NOTWITHSTANDING this desperate situation, in 1714 they solicited the renewal of their charter, which was nearly expired, and which they had enjoyed for half a century. Although they had none of their capital left, and that their debts amounted to ten millions *, yet the ministry, who did not know, or would not perceive, that measures more prudential might be adopted, granted them an indulgence for ten years longer. This new regulation was thwarted by the most incredible revolution that the finances of the kingdom ever experienced; the cause and effects of which will be more readily comprehended by those who will take the trouble to follow us in our review of the most distant periods of the monarchy.

* 416,666l. 13s. 4d.

We are entirely unacquainted with the manner in which the primitive Gauls supplied the several wants of the confederate bodies of which they were members. Their descendants, under the dominion of the Romans, paid no other tax than the fifth of the fruit of their trees, and the tenth of the produce of their harvests, in kind.

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Revolutions which have happened in the finances of France since the earliest times of the monarchy.

This impost was abolished at the invasion of the Franks, who did not substitute any other in lieu of it. The sovereign, for his private expences, as well as for the exigences of the state, had no other revenue than that which he acquired from his lands, which were extensive and numerous. They were covered with woods, ponds, breeds of horses, cattle, and slaves under the conduct of an active director, whose business it was to maintain order, to encourage industry, and to insure plenty. The court went to live successively upon these domains, which were entirely laid out in useful productions; and what they did not consume was sold for other purposes. The carriages wanted for the journeys of the prince were furnished by the people, and the nobles supplied their sovereign with a residence and provisions. It was customary to make him a present of greater or less value at his departure; and this testimony of regard was afterwards changed into an impost, under the title of *droit de gîte**, when the heads of the state were disgusted of this wandering life. With these few resources, and some other succours, always of a

* Tax of residence.

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trifling nature, which were granted (though very seldom) in the martial assemblies of the nation, the sovereign contrived still to build magnificent churches, to found rich bishoprics, to repel formidable enemies, and to make important conquests.

At the beginning of the eighth century, Charles Martel, the mayor of the palace, thought these funds insufficient for the defence of the kingdom, violently attacked by the Saracens, who were formidable from their numbers, their bravery, and their victories. It was the idea of this famous depositary of the royal authority, that a war against the infidels was to be maintained by holy property; and without any of those precautions which it has since been necessary to have recourse to, and which have even been frequently employed without effect, he seized upon the riches of the church, which were immense. If the clergy flattered themselves that peace would reinstate them in their possessions, they were disappointed in their expectations. The sovereigns remained masters of the richest bishoprics, the nobles of the best abbeys, and the gentlemen of the most considerable benefices. They became so many fiefs, the possessors, or rather perhaps the usurpers of which, were constrained to a military service proportioned to the value of their possessions. At first they were holden only for life; but they afterwards became hereditary, upon the decline of Charlemagne's family. They were then introduced in the course of circulation, as all other properties are. They were given away, sold, or distributed.

distributed. A living was frequently the dowry of a young person who used to farm the tithes, and the casual profits of it. BOOK
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THE first kings of the third race suffered themselves to be persuaded that it was a duty of religion, as well as a point of justice, to restore to the sanctuary what had been purloined from it. The sacrifice was so much the greater, as these princes could not expect any assistance from a nation that was parcelled out, and which held no more assemblies; and as they had nothing remaining of their antient domain, except what was situated in the circuit of the confined territory that had been left immediately at their own disposal, when the government became entirely feudal. The Jews were most commonly the persons, who used to supply the deficiency which these revolutions had occasioned in the royal coffers.

Thirty-seven years after the death of the Messiah, Titus attacked and took Jerusalem. Thousands of Jews perished in the siege; a great number were reduced to slavery, and the rest of the nation was dispersed. Some of them passed over into Gaul, where they experienced different treatment, according to times and circumstances.

SOMETIMES the Jews purchased the right of forming a distinct and separate people in the state. They had then their own tribunals, a seal that was peculiar to them, burying places without the gates of the cities, synagogues in which they were allowed to pray only in a low voice, and a

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If the intention sometimes prevailed of forcing them to turn Christians, they were more frequently prohibited from it. A Jew who changed his religion, was subject to a penalty, and his estates were confiscated. He was thus deprived of every thing, because there was no longer any pretence for loading him with taxes.

Most commonly, the nation was left a prey to the usurious dealings of these iniquitous men; but on some occasions it was forbidden to hold any intercourse with them. It was prohibited by law to hire any Jews for servants, to hold any lease of them, to put any trust in their physicians, to suckle, or even to rear their children.

They were often accused of having poisoned the wells, of having massacred the children, and of having crucified a man on the memorable day of Good-Friday. It was by gold alone that they were able to clear themselves of all these atrocious imputations, equally devoid of truth and probability.

The spirit of tyranny often loaded them with chains. Their persons, their estates, and their goods, all belonged to the lord of the place where they dwelt. He might pursue them if they changed their residence, and the sovereign himself had no right to detain them whenever they were claimed. These kinds of slaves were considered as an article of trade; they were sold, either separately, or with the land, at a greater or less

less price, according to their respective talents and industry. BOOK
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In some instances they were compelled to purchase their freedom. These low-minded men would have preferred a state of slavery which did not prevent them from acquiring riches, to an independence by which they were to be deprived of them; but the liberty of choice was not allowed to them. They were forced to submit, either to expire in torments; or to drag from the bowels of the earth the treasures they had concealed there.

WHEN these insatiable leeches had devoured the substance of the whole state, they were made to disgorge their plunder, and then exiled. In order to get leave to renew their depredations, they sacrificed part of the treasure they had saved from the general wreck, and made use of the rest in regaining still more than had been taken from them.

THOUGH the barons had more or less a share in the vexations with which the Jews were oppressed, yet the sovereigns, upon whom this perverse race more particularly depended, always derived the principal advantages from them. It was by means of this fatal and odious resource that they supported for some time a feeble and contested authority. In after-times, the debasing of the coin furnished them with fresh assistance.

THE antient governments were very far from making any advantage of their coin. The coinage was always carried on at the expence of the state; and it is a matter of uncertainty which

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were the people who first laid a tax upon this universal object of exchange. If this fatal example was given by France, the kings of the first and second race must have derived little advantage from this pernicious innovation; because the payments were made, as among the Romans, with metals given by the weight; and because the use of specie was adopted only in the details of commerce. This custom became afterwards considerably less prevalent; and the sovereigns were still more inclined to increase a tax, which was every day becoming more advantageous to them. In a little time they went much further, and did not scruple to commit the most flagrant act of dishonesty, in altering the value of the coin, at pleasure, or according to their necessities. The specie was continually undergoing a fresh melting, and was always mixed with very base alloy.

It was with these odious succours; with the revenue of a territory extremely limited; with some fiefs, which either became vacant or were confiscated; with some voluntary offerings, which were therefore stiled gifts of benevolence; with some taxes exacted from the barons, but which were rather tokens of submission than real imposts; it was, in a word, by these means, that the crown was supported, and that its power even continued increasing, during all the time that it had no other enemies to contend with, except vassals more feeble than itself. Wars at that period lasted no longer than a few weeks; the armies were not numerous; the military service

†

was

was performed without reward; and the expenses of the court were so inconsiderable, that till the fatal reign of Charles VI., they never exceeded 94,000 livres *.

BUT no sooner had the epidemic rage of the crusades draw'n the French far away from their frontiers; no sooner had foreign enemies made powerful inroads into France, than it became necessary to establish regular and considerable funds. The sovereigns would have been very desirous of taking upon themselves the regulation of these contributions; and attempted it more than once. They were forewarned of these usurpations by the remonstrances of enlightened persons; and compelled to give them up by the revolt of the people. They were obliged to acknowledge that this authority belonged to the nation assembled, and to that alone. They even made oath at their coronation, that this sacred and unalienable right should be for ever respected; and this oath was a restraint upon them for several centuries.

DURING all the time that the crown had no other revenue than the produce of it's domains, the collecting of the public treasury had been allotted to the Seneschals and Bailiffs, each in their respective departments; so that power, the administration of justice, and the distribution of finance, were all united under one common head. When taxes were general throughout the kingdom, it became necessary to settle a new arrangement of matters. Whether these taxes bore upon

BOOK IV. **the person, or upon the houses of the citizens; whether individuals were required to give up the fifth or the tenth of their harvests, and the fifth or the hundredth parts of their effects, moveable or immovable; or whether other calculations, more or less fortunate, were made; still there was a necessity to have a multiplicity of agents to collect these different tributes; and, unfortunately for the state, these agents were sought for in Italy, where the art of squeezing the people had already made an immense progress.**

These financiers, who were known by the name of Lombards, gave early proofs of a genius fertile in fraudulent contrivances. Numberless and fruitless attempts were made, at different times, to put a stop to their insatiable cupidity. No sooner was one abuse suppressed, than it was succeeded by another of a different kind. If these infamous plunderers were sometimes prosecuted with rigour by the hand of authority, they found an effectual support from some powerful persons, whose protection and influence they had purchased. At length, however, their enormities were carried to such a height, that no protection could save them. The advances which these pernicious strangers had made to government and to individuals, were confiscated; they were deprived of the immense treasures they had heaped up, and were banished from the kingdom, into which they ought never to have been admitted. After their expulsion, the general assembly of the states, which regulated the subsidies, took upon themselves to collect them; and this arrangement continued

continued till the time of Charles VII., who first ventured to settle a tax without the consent of the nation, and who appropriated to himself the right of having all the imposts collected by his own delegates.

UNDER the reign of Lewis XII., the public revenue, which had gradually increased, amounted to seven millions six hundred and fifty thousand livres *. The marc of silver was then valued at eleven livres †, and the marc of gold at one hundred and thirty ‡. This sum answered to thirty-six millions § of our livres at this day.

AT the death of Francis I, the treasury received fifteen millions seven hundred and thirty thousand livres ||; the marc of silver being then valued at fifteen livres **, and the marc of gold at one hundred and sixty-five ††; this answered to fifty-six millions of our livres ‡‡. From this sum, sixty thousand four hundred and sixteen livres, three sols, four deniers §§, were to be deducted for the perpetual annuities created by that prince, and which, at eight and a half per cent. answered to a capital of seven hundred and twenty-five thousand livres §§. This was an innovation; not but that some of his predecessors had been acquainted with the fatal resource of loans; but this had been always upon the security of their agents, and the state had never been concerned in them.

* 318,750l.	† 9s. 2d.	‡ 3l. 8s. 4d.
§ 1,500,000l.	655,416l. 13s. 4d.	** 12s. 6d.
†† 6l. 17s. 6d.		‡‡ 2,333,333l. 6s. 8d.
§§ 2,517l. 6s. 8d. 3.		30,208l. 6s. 8d.

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A SERIES of civil wars, of acts of fanaticism, of depredations, of crimes and of anarchy, during a space of forty years, plunged the finances of the kingdom into a state of disorder, from which none but a Sully could have recovered them. This economical, enlightened, virtuous, indefatigable, and bold minister, reduced to the amount of seven millions * of annuities, lessened the taxes by three millions †, and left the state twenty-six millions ‡, with the burden only of six millions twenty-five thousand six hundred and sixty-six livres, two sols, six deniers §, in annuities; consequently, when all charges were deducted, twenty millions of livres ¶ entered the royal treasury; fifteen millions five hundred thousand ** were sufficient for the public expences, and the savings amounted to four millions five hundred thousand livres ††. The value of silver was then twenty-two livres ‡‡ the marc.

THE compelled retreat of this great man, after the tragical end of the best of kings, was a calamity which we still have cause to regret. The court immediately indulged itself in profusions which were unparalleled in the monarchy; and the ministers afterwards formed enterprizes, to which the powers of the nation were not adequate. The treasury was again exhausted by this double principle of unavoidable confusion. In 1661, the taxes amounted to eighty-four millions, two hun-

* 298,666l. 13s. 4d.

† 125,000l.

‡ 125,000l.

§ About 251,069l. 8s. 5d.

¶ 645,833l. 6s. 8d.

** 187,500l.

†† 18s. 4d.

‡‡ 18s. 4d.

dred

dred and twenty-two thousand and ninety-six livres *: but the debts absorbed fifty-two millions three hundred and seventy-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-two livres †. There remained therefore, for the public expences no more than thirty-one millions eight hundred and forty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-four livres ‡, a sum evidently insufficient for the exigencies of the state. Such was the situation of the finances, when the administration of them was intrusted to Colbert.

This minister, whose name is become so celebrated among all nations, raised, in 1683, which was the last year of his life, the revenues of the monarch whom he served to one hundred and sixteen millions eight hundred and seventy-three thousand four hundred and seventy-six livres §. The sum charged upon it did not exceed twenty-three millions three hundred and seventy-five thousand two hundred and seventy-four livres ||, so that the sum of ninety-three millions four hundred and ninety-eight thousand two hundred and two livres **, was consequently poured into the king's coffers. The value of silver was then twenty-eight livres, ten sols, ten deniers †† the marc. We have only to regret, that the fatal propensity of Lewis XIV. for war, and his inordinate turn for every kind of expence that was attended with parade and magnificence, should

* 3,509,254l.
† 1,326,871l. 16s. 8d.
‡ 973,969l. 15s.
†† 11. 3s. 9½d.

† 2,182,382l. 3s. 4d.
§ 4,869,728l. 3s. 4d.
** 3,895,758l. 8s. 4d.

have

□ ○ ○ □
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have deprived the kingdom of France of some of the advantages she might have flattered herself with from so able an administrator.

AFTER the death of Colbert, the affairs were plunged again into that chaos, from which his industry and talents had made them emerge. Though France appeared with some degree of outward splendour, yet her internal decay was daily increasing. Her finances, administered without order or principle, fell a prey to a multitude of contractors, who made themselves necessary even by their plunders, and went so far as to impose terms to government. Confusion, usury, continual alterations of the coin, reductions of interest, alienations of the domain and of the taxes, engagements which it was impossible to fulfil, creations of pensions and places, privileges and exemptions of all kinds: these, and a variety of other evils, each more ruinous than the other, were the deplorable and unavoidable consequence of an almost uninterrupted succession of vicious administrations.

THE loss of credit soon became universal. Bankruptcies were more frequent. Money grew scarce, and trade was at a stand. The consumption was less. The culture of lands was neglected. Artists went over to foreign countries. The common people had neither food nor clothing. The nobility served in the army without pay, and mortgaged their lands. All orders of men groaned under the weight of taxes, and were in want of the necessaries of life. The royal effects had lost their value. The contracts upon the *hotel de*

the mills sold but for half their worth, and bills of an inferior kind lost infinitely more. Lewis XIV, a little before his death, was in great want of eight millions *; and was forced to give bonds for thirty-two millions †, which was borrowing at four hundred per cent.

No clamours were raised against so enormous an usury. The revenue of the state, amounted, so is true, to one hundred and fifteen millions three hundred eighty-nine thousand and seventy-four livres ‡; but the sums charged upon it took away eighty-two millions eight hundred and fifty-nine thousand five hundred and four livres §; so that there remained, for the expenses of government, no more than thirty-two millions five hundred and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and seventy livres ¶; at thirty livres, ten sols, six deniers † of the marc. All these funds were moreover participated for upwards of three years.

Such was the confusion in the state of public affairs, when, on the first of September 1715, the Duke of Orleans assumed the reins of government. The true friends of this great prince, were desirous that he should call together a general assembly of the states. This would have been an infallible method of preserving, and even of increasing, the public favour, already openly displayed for him. Whatever measures might have been adopted by the nation, to free itself from that critical situation, into which it had been pres-

* 333,333l. 6s. 8d.

† 4,807,878l. 1s. 8d.

‡ 1,355,998l. 15s.

§ 1,333,333l. 6s. 8d.

¶ 3,452,479l. 6s. 8d.

† About 2l. 5s. 5d.

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precipitated by the dissipation of the preceding reign, no blame could have been imputed to him. The Duke of Orleans was ready to concur in this expedient. Unfortunately, the perfidious confidants, who had usurped too much power over his mind, reprobated a scheme in which their private interest could not find it's advantage; and it was given up.

At that time, some great men, disgusted of the despotism under which France was oppressed, and seeing no probability of shaking off the yoke, entertained an idea of a complete bankruptcy, which they thought a proper method of moderating the excess of absolute power. The manner in which they conceived that it should be brought about, was singular.

According to their system, the crown is neither hereditary nor elective. It is nothing more than a trust granted by the whole nation to one particular house, that it may pass from one elder male to the next, as long as the family shall exist. Upon this principle, a king of France holds nothing from the person whom he succeeds. He comes to the throne in his turn, in virtue of the right which his birth gives him, and not as the representative of his father. He cannot therefore be bound by the engagements of his predecessors. The primordial law which gives him the sceptre, requires that the substitution should be simple, complete, and free from any obligation.

These bold men were desirous that these maxims, which appeared to them incontrovertible, as well as the decisive consequences they drew

drew from them, should be consecrated in the eyes of all Europe by a most solemn edict. They thought, that when these truths were made know'n, they would prevent foreigners and natives from lending their capitals to a government which could give no solid security for the debt. Consequently, the court would from that time be reduced to live upon it's own income. However considerable this income might be, the necessary consequence of such an event would be, that some limit would be set to the caprices of the sovereigns; that the expensive enterprizes of ministers would become of less continuance and frequency; and that the insatiable cupidity of favourites and mistresses must in some measure be restrained.

SOME politicians, without adopting a system, which appeared to them calculated to lead their princes to tyranny, were of opinion, that the crown should be released of it's debts, in whatever mode they might have been contracted. They could not bear the distressing sight of an amiable people, exasperated by extortions of all kinds, which they had been exposed to during a course of forty years; a people who were sinking under the enormous weight of their present misery; and who were in the utmost despair at foreseeing that time, that great resource of the wretched, would bring no relief to their distresses, but would probably aggravate them. The creditors of the state, who did not constitute a thousandth part of the citizens, who were most of them know'n only by their depredations, and the

B O O K
IV. } most upright of whom acquired from the public treasury the affluence they enjoyed, appeared objects less interesting to these politicians. In the grievous necessity of sacrificing one part of the nation to the other, it was their opinion that the lenders should be the victims.

THE regent, after some deliberations, refused to adopt so violent a measure, which he thought would inevitably fix an indelible stain upon his administration. He chose rather to institute a strict inquiry into the public engagements, than to submit to a disgraceful bankruptcy, the publicity of which he thought might be avoided.

AN office for the revision of accounts, established on the 7th of December 1715, reduced six hundred millions * of stock payable to bearer, to two hundred and fifty millions † in government bonds; and yet the national debt, after this operation, amounted still to two thousand and sixty-two millions one hundred and thirty-eight thousand and one livres ‡.

THIS enormous debt suggested the idea of appointing, in the month of March 1716, a bed of justice, to call those to account who had been the authors of the public calamities, or who had profited by them. This inquiry served only to expose to public view the incapacity of the ministers who had been intrusted with the management of the finances, the craft of the farmers of the revenue who had swallowed them up, and the baseness of the courtiers, who had sold their interest

* 25,000,000l.

† 85,822,416l. 14s. 2d.

‡ 10,416,666l. 13s. 4d.

to the first bidder. By this experiment, honest ^{B O' O K}
 minds were confirmed in the abhorrence they ^{IV.}
 always had entertained for such a tribunal. It
 degrades the dignity of the prince who fails to
 fulfil his engagements, and exposes to the people
 the vices of a corrupt administration. It is in-
 jurious to the rights of the citizen, who is ac-
 countable for his actions to none but the law. It
 strikes terror into the rich, who are marked out
 as delinquents, merely because they are rich, be
 their fortunes well or ill gotten. It gives encou-
 ragement to informers, who point out as fit ob-
 jects for tyranny such as it may be advantageous
 to ruin. It is composed of unmerciful leeches,
 who see guilt wherever they suspect there is wealth.
 It spares plunderers, who know how to screen
 themselves by a seasonable sacrifice of part of their
 riches, and spoils honest men who think them-
 selves secure in their innocence. It sacrifices the
 interests of the treasury to the caprices of a few
 greedy, profligate, and extravagant favourites.

ALL the springs of the state were destroyed;
 before this resource, which bore evident marks of
 the passions and prejudice, had been experienced.
 The situation of the body politic became still
 more desperate, after this convulsive effort. The
 members of the state lost the little they had left
 of energy and life; so that it became necessary to
 re-animate the corpse. This resurrection was not
 an impossible thing, because there was a general
 disposition prevailing to make use of any remedies
 that were proposed; the difficulty was to propose

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Methods
contrived by
Law, to re-
cover the
finances of
France from
the state of
confusion
into which
they were
fallen.
Part taken
by the Com-
pany in the
execution of
his projects.

none but such as would be effectual: the celebrated Law made the attempt.

THIS Scotchman was one of those projectors, or state empirics, who are constantly roaming about the courts of Europe, displaying their talents, and hurried on by a restless disposition. He was a deep calculator; and at the same time, which appears rather inconsistent, endowed with a most lively and ardent imagination. His turn of mind and character proved agreeable to the regent, over whose understanding he soon gained an influence. Law engaged himself that he would re-establish the finances of the kingdom, and easily prevailed upon that prince, who was a man of dissipation and genius, to countenance a plan which promised him wealth and reputation. We shall now give an account of the series and result of his operations.

First, he was allowed, in the month of May 1716, to establish a bank at Paris, the capital of which was to consist of six millions of livres*, to be formed by twelve hundred shares, of three thousand livres† each.

THIS bank was not permitted to make any loan. It was prohibited from entering into any kind of trade, and its engagements were to be at sight. Every native, and every foreigner, might place their money in it; and it engaged to make all the payments, for the deduction of five sols‡ upon every three thousand livres§. The

* 250,000l.

† 125l.

‡ 2½ d.

§ 125l.

bills,

bills, which it gave out at a very moderate discount, were paid in all the provinces by the directors of the mint, who were it's agents, and who, on their part, drew upon it's treasury. It's paper was equally received in all the principal places in Europe, at the ordinary course of exchange, at the time it became due.

THE success of this new establishment confounded the opponents of it's founder, and, perhaps, went beyond his own expectations. It's influence was felt even from the first. A rapid circulation of money, which had so long remained inactive, from the general mistrust that prevailed, soon brought every thing into motion again. Agriculture, manufactures, and the arts were revived. All articles of consumption resumed their former course. The merchants, finding their bills of exchange discounted at five *per cent.* and getting securities for them which were as good as specie, renewed their speculations. Usury was put a stop to, because persons of property found themselves compelled to lend their money at the same interest as the bank did. When foreigners were able to rely upon the nature of the payments they might have to make, they made fresh demands for productions, from the purchasing of which they did not abstain without regret. To the great astonishment of all nations, the exchange rose to the advantage of France.

THIS was a considerable step; but it was not doing all that was possible or necessary. In the month of March 1717 it was decreed, that the bills of the bank should be received at all the offices in payment of the taxes, and that they

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should be paid at sight, and without discount, by those who were intrusted with the management of the public money. By this important regulation, the produce of the taxes was detained in the provinces, the expence attending the carriage of money was saved both to the sovereign and to the public, and the numerous as well as useless circulations it underwent, through the hands of a multiplicity of agents, were avoided. This operation, which carried the credit of the bank to the highest pitch, was equally useful to the government. The imposts were now collected, not only without those acts of violence, which for so long a time past had raised clamours against the administration, and urged the people to acts of desperation; but also the public revenues were continually and rapidly increased, in a manner which could not fail to bring about a fortunate change in the situation of government.

THE unexpected appearance of so many advantages, made Law be considered as a man of judgment, of extensive and elevated genius, who despised riches, and was ambitious of fame, and who wished to transmit his name to posterity by great acts. The gratitude of the people rose so high, that he was thought worthy of the most honourable and public monuments. This bold and enterprizing foreigner availed himself of a disposition so favourable to him, in hastening the execution of a project, which had for a long time engaged his attention.

IN the month of August 1717, he obtained permission to establish the Western Company, the
rights

rights of which were at first confined to the exclusive trade of Louisiana, and of the beavers of Canada. The privileges formerly granted for the trade to Africa, to the East-Indies, and to China, were soon incorporated with those of the new establishment. These companies, thus united, projected the paying off of the national debt. In order to put them in a condition to accomplish so great a design, government granted them the sale of tobacco, the coinage, the excise duties, and the farms general.

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In order to hasten the revolution, Law obtained on the 4th of December 1718, that the bank which he had established two years before, and which, while it's interests were distinct from those of the state, had been of so great utility, should be erected into a royal bank. It's bills passed as current coin between individuals, and they were taken in payment at all the royal treasuries.

THE first operations of the new system gave universal satisfaction. The shares of the Company, most of them bought with government bills, and which, upon an average, did not really cost five hundred livres *, rose to the value of ten thousand livres †, payable in bank bills. Such was the general infatuation, that not only natives, but foreigners, and men of the best understanding, sold their stock, their lands and their jewels, in order to play at this extraordinary game. Gold and silver were in no kind of estimation; nothing but paper currency was sought after.

* 20l. 16s. 8d.

† 416l. 13s. 4d.

It was not, perhaps, impossible, but that this enthusiasm might have been kept up for a sufficient length of time, to have been productive of some advantage, if Law's views had been implicitly followed. This calculator, notwithstanding the boldness of his principles, was desirous of limiting the number of shares, although he never could have been compelled to reimburse them. But he was more particularly determined not to distribute bank bills to the amount of more than ten or twelve hundred millions of livres *. This was supposed to be the value of the specie circulating in the kingdom; and he flattered himself, that by these operations, he should collect in the king's coffers a sufficient quantity of it, to enable him to pay off any persons who might be desirous of changing their paper currency into money. A plan which in itself was so little likely to succeed, was still further disconcerted by the conduct of the regent. •

THIS prince had received from nature a quick and penetrating spirit, an uncommon share of memory, and a sound understanding. He acquired by study a manly degree of eloquence, an exquisite discernment, a taste for the fine arts, and a proficiency in them. In war, he displayed much valour; and in the management of civil affairs, great dexterity and frankness. His character, and the circumstances of the times, contributed to place him in some delicate situations, by which he gained a complete knowledge of

* From 41,666,666l. 13s. 4d. to 50,000,000l.

mankind, and an early experience. The kind of BOOK
IV. disgrace in which he had lived for a long time, had given him social manners, so that he was easy of access; and in any intercourse with him, no man had reason to fear the being treated with ill-humour, or with haughtiness. His conversation was insinuating, and his manners perfectly graceful. He was of a benevolent disposition, or at least assumed the appearance of it.

THESE amiable and estimable qualities did not produce the great effects that were expected from them. The want of firmness in Philip rendered all these advantages useless to the nation. He had never strength of mind sufficient to refuse any thing to his friends, to his enemies, to his mistresses, and especially to his favourite Dubois, the most corrupt and profligate of men. This inability of refusing manifested itself particularly at the time of the system. In order to glut the cupidity of all those who had the impudence to say, or to think that they were useful, he created six hundred and twenty-four thousand shares, the value of which rose to above six thousand millions of livres *, and gave out bank bills to the amount of 2,696,400,000 livres †.

A DISPROPORTION so enormous, between the paper currency and the coin, might possibly have been supported in a free nation, where it had been brought on by degrees. The citizens, accustomed to consider the nation as a permanent and independent body, trust to its security the more

* 250,000,000*l*.

† 112,350,000*l*.

readily,

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readily, as they are seldom thoroughly acquainted with it's powers, and have a good opinion of it's equity, founded on experience. Upon the strength of this favourable prejudice, credit is often stretched in those states beyond the real resources and securities of the nation. This is not the case in absolute monarchies, especially such as have often broken their engagements. If in times of public infatuation an implicit confidence be shew'n, it is but for a little while. Their insolvency becomes evident. The honesty of the monarch, the mortgage, the stock, every thing appears imaginary. The creditor, recovered from his delirium, demands his money with a degree of impatience proportionable to his uneasiness. The history of the system corroborates this truth.

THE desire of putting off those, who first recovered from the general phrenzy, were wishing to convert their paper into money, made it necessary to have recourse to expedients, such as could only have been suggested by the most inveterate opposer of the system. Gold was prohibited in trade. All the citizens were forbidden to keep by them more than five hundred livres * in specie. Several successive diminutions in the value of the coin were declared by edict. These tyrannical proceedings not only put a stop to the demands, but likewise reduced some timid persons to the cruel necessity of throwing more stock into the bank. But this temporary success did not even conceal the precipice that had been so imprudently opened.

* 20l. 16s. 8d.

In order to prop up an edifice which was BOOK
IV. tumbling to pieces on all sides, it was decreed, that the standard for the coin should be raised to eighty-two livres ten sols * the mark; that the bank bills should be reduced to half of their value, and the shares to five ninths. This mode of reducing the disproportion between the paper currency and the coin, was, perhaps, the least unreasonable that could have been adopted in the desperate situation of affairs at that time; it completed, however, the general confusion. The consternation became universal; every man thought he had lost the half of his fortune, and hastened to call in the remainder. The coffers were empty, and the stock-holders found they had been deluded by mere chimeras. Then it was that Law disappeared, and with him the expectation, absurdly entertained, of obtaining the restoration of the public finances, through his means. Every thing fell into confusion.

It did not seem possible to clear up this chaos. In order to attempt it, on the 26th of January 1721, an office was created, into which the life annuities, and perpetual annuities, the shares, the bank bills; in a word, all papers bearing the mark of the royal authority, of whatever kind, were to be deposited in the course of two months, and their validity was afterwards to be discussed.

It was found by this examination, so celebrated under the title of *Visa*, that bank bills had been

* 3l. 8s. 9d.

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 { **iv.** circulated to the amount of 2,696,400,000
 livres *. The value of 707,327,460 livres † of
 these was burnt, and not reckoned in the liqui-
 dation. The stock-holders were condemned to a
 restitution of 187,893,661 livres ‡, and other
 modes were contrived to diminish the national
 debt. The political machine began now to re-
 sume it's motions, but they were neither easy, nor
 even regular.

IN whatever manner the finances of the king-
 dom were afterwards administered, they were
 never adequate to the expences. This is a dis-
 tressing fact, the demonstration of which we have
 before our eyes. In vain were taxes multiplied;
 wants, fancies, and depredations, were still in-
 creased beyond them; and the treasury became
 more and more in debt. At the death of
 Lewis XV. the public revenues rose to 375,331,874
 livres §, But the engagements, notwithstanding
 the multitude of bankruptcies that had been
 made, amounted to 190,858,531 livres ||. There
 remained, therefore, no more than 184,473,343
 livres **; the expences of the state required
 210,000,000 livres ††; consequently there was a
 deficiency of 25,526,657 livres ‡‡ in the trea-
 sury.

THE public suppose, that a better use will be
 made of the revenue under the present reign.
 Their expectations are founded upon the love of

* 112,350,000l.

† 7,808,912l. 10s. 10d.

|| 7,952,438l. 15s. 10d.

†† 8,750,000l.

‡ 29,471,977l. 10s.

§ 15,638,828l. 1s. 8d.

** 7,686,389l. 5s. 10d.

‡‡ 1,063,610l. 13s. 4d.

order, the contempt of pomp, the spirit of justice, and those other plain and modest virtues, which seemed to crowd about the throne when Lewis XVI. ascended it. BOOK
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YOUNG Prince! thou who hast been able to preserve an abhorrence of vice and dissipation in the midst of the most dissolute of courts, and under the weakest of preceptors, condescend to hear me with indulgence, because I am an honest man, and one of thy best subjects; because I have no pretensions to thy favour, and that every morning and evening I lift up my hands to heaven, praying for the good of mankind, and for the prosperity and glory of thy reign. The boldness with which I shall venture to tell thee truths that thy predecessor never hear'd from the mouths of his flatterers, and which thou wilt not be more likely to hear from those who approach thee, is the best eulogium I can make of thy character.

THOU reignest over the finest empire in the universe. Notwithstanding the decline into which it is fallen, there is no place upon the earth where the arts and sciences sustain themselves with so much lustre. The neighbouring nations are in want of thy assistance, while thou can'st maintain thyself without their's. If thy provinces were to enjoy all the fertility of which they are susceptible; if thy troops, without being much more numerous were as well disciplined as they could be; if thy revenues, without being increased, were more faithfully administered; if a spirit of œconomy directed the expences of thy ministers, and of thy palace; if thy debts were paid off:

BOOK what power on earth would be so formidable as
IV. thine ?

SAY, where is the monarch who rules over subjects so patient, so faithful, and so affectionate ? Is there a people more frank, more active, or more industrious ? Has not all Europe derived from them that social spirit which so happily distinguishes the present period from all preceding ages ? Have not statesmen of all countries pronounced thy empire to be inexhaustible ? Thou thyself wilt even be sensible of the whole extent of these resources, if thou say'st to thyself without delay : " I am young, but my only wish is to " do good. Firmness gets the better of all obstacles. Let me only be presented with a true " picture of my situation : whatever it may be, " I shall not be alarmed." Prince, thou hast commanded, and I hasten to obey. If while I am speaking, one tear does but steal from thine eyes, our preservation is at hand.

WHEN an unexpected event placed the scepter in thine unexperienced hands, the French navy for one moment, one single awful moment, had ceased to exist. Weakness, disorder, and corruption, had re-plunged it into that state of annihilation, from which it had emerged at the most brilliant æra of the monarchy. It had neither been able to defend our distant possessions, nor to preserve our coasts from invasion and plunder. In all the regions of the globe, our seamen, and our merchants were exposed to ruinous oppressions, and to mortifications infinitely more intolerable,

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THE forces and treasure of the nation, had been lavished for interests, foreign, and perhaps repugnant to our own. But what is gold, or what is blood, in comparison of honour? Our arms, formerly so much dreaded, inspired no more any kind of terror. We were scarce allowed to have courage.

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Our ambassadors, who for so long a time had appeared in foreign courts less to negotiate, than to manifest the intentions, I had almost said the will, of their masters; our ambassadors were now despised. The most important transactions were concluded without any communication with them. Powers in alliance with us, divided empires amongst themselves without our knowledge. Was it possible to declare in a more insulting, and less equivocal manner, the little weight we were considered to have in the general balance of the political affairs of Europe? What was become of the dignity and respect of the French name?

SUCH is, young sovereign, thy situation without the limits of thine empire. Thou dost cast down thine eyes, and darest not to look at it. The internal view of thy kingdom will not afford thee a more comfortable prospect.

In proof of this, I call to witness that succession of bankruptcies which have happened from year to year, from month to month, under the reign of thy predecessor. Thus it is, that the utmost degree of indigence hath insensibly been brought on a multitude of subjects, who had incurred no other reproach, than that of having indiscreetly trusted

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trusted their fortune to their sovereigns, and of having over-rated the estimation of their sacred promise. We should be ashamed of a breach of faith, even with an enemy; and kings, the fathers of their country, are not ashamed to break their words in this cruel and base manner with their children! Abominable prostitution of their oaths! It might still be some kind of consolation to these unfortunate persons, if they had fallen victims to the necessity of circumstances, or to the urgency of the public wants, which are ever renewed: but these acts of perfidy have been executed after years of a long peace, without there appearing any other motive for them, than the abandoning of the plunder of the public finances to a multitude of persons as vile as they were rapacious. Behold the chain of them, descending from the upper steps of the throne, and extending from thence to the lowest ranks of society. Behold what is the consequence, when the monarch separates his interests from those of his people.

CAST thine eyes upon the capital of thine empire, and thou wilt find in it two orders of citizens. The first, gorged with riches, display a luxury which raises the indignation of those whom it does not seduce; the others, are oppressed with indigence, which they increase by assuming the appearance of affluence that does not belong to them: for such is the power of gold, when it is become the idol of a nation, that it is a substitute for every talent, and for every virtue; insomuch that a man must either have riches, or
make

make it be thought that he has. Among this BOOK
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 heap of dissolute men, thou wilt see some laborious, honest, æconomical, and industrious citizens, half proscribed by the erroneous laws, which the spirit of intoleration hath dictated, deprived of all public functions, and always ready to quit their country because they are not allowed to take root by the acquisition of property in a state where they exist, without civil honour, and without security.

TURN thy view towards the provinces where every species of industry is upon the decline. Thou wilt see them sinking under the load of taxes, and under the oppressions, as diversified as they are cruel, of the numberless satellites attending on the contractors.

AFTER this, take a review of the country, and behold if thou can'st, with an unweeping eye, the man who enriches us condemned to perish with misery; the unfortunate farmer, who scarce retains from the lands that he has cultivated a sufficient quantity of straw to cover his hut, and make himself a bed. Behold the protected extortioner, roaming about his poor habitation, in hopes of finding, in the appearance of some little improvement in his wretched situation, the pretence of redoubling his extortions. Behold multitudes of men, who have no possessions, quitting, from the earliest dawn, their dwelling, with their wives, their children, and their cattle, in order to proceed without wages, and without food, to the making of roads, the advantage of which is entirely for those who engross all possessions.

I PERCEIVE that thy feeling heart is overwhelmed with grief; and thou doest ask with a sigh, what is the remedy to such a variety of evils? Thou shalt be told it; thou shalt tell it to thyself. But thou must first be informed that the monarch, who hath none but pacific virtues, may secure the affection of his subjects; and that there is nothing, except fortitude, which can make him respected by his neighbours; thou must be informed, that kings have no relations, and that family compacts last no longer than the contracting parties find their interest in them; that there is still less confidence to be reposed in thy alliance with an artful house, which requires a strict observation of the treaties made with it, without ever being at a loss for a pretence to elude the conditions of them, when they stand in the way of it's own aggrandizement; thou must be informed, that a king, the only man who knows not whether he has a true friend near him, cannot possibly have one out of his dominions, and must therefore rely only upon himself; that an empire can no more subsist without morals, and without virtue, than a private family; that it hastens on in the same manner to it's ruin by dissipation, and is equally unable of recovering itself without œconomy; thou must be informed, that pomp adds nothing to the majesty of the throne; that one of thy ancestors never appeared more great than when attended by a few guards; which he had even no occasion for, more plainly clothed than any one of his subjects, and with his back resting against an oak, he hear'd all complaints that were address-

ed to him, and determined every dispute; thou must be informed, in a word, that thy kingdom will recover from the abyfs digged by thy predecessors, if thou wilt take upon thyself to regulate thy conduct, upon the model of that of a rich individual, loaded with debt, and yet honest enough to be desirous of answering the inconsiderate engagements of his ancestors, and just enough to reject, with indignation, every tyrannical proceeding that might be suggested to him.

Ask thyself in the course of the day, during the night, in the midst of the tumult of thy court, in the retirement of thy closet, when thou dost reflect; and in what moment oughtest thou not to reflect upon the happiness of twenty-two millions of people whom thou cherishest, who have an affection for thee, and who anticipate by their wishes the time when they may adore thee: ask thyself, I say, whether thy intention be to perpetuate the absurd profusion of thy palace.

WHETHER thou wilt keep that multitude of high and subaltern officers who devour thee.

WHETHER thou wilt continue the expensive maintenance of that number of useless castles, with the enormous salaries granted to those who govern them.

WHETHER thou wilt still double and treble the expences of thy household, by journeys as costly as they are useless.

WHETHER thou wilt dissipate in scandalous festivals the subsistence of thy people.

WHETHER thou wilt allow that tables of a ruinous game, the source of debasement and cor-

ruption, should be fixed under thy own inspection.

WHETHER thou wilt suffer thy treasury to be exhausted, in order to keep up the pomp of thy relations, and to maintain them in a state, the magnificence of which shall be emulous of thine own.

WHETHER thou wilt suffer, that the example of a treacherous luxury should disorder the senses of our women, and drive their husbands to despair.

WHETHER thou wilt sacrifice every day for the feed of thy horses, a quantity of subsistence sufficient to nourish several thousands of thy subjects, who are perishing with hunger and misery.

WHETHER thou wilt still grant to certain members of the state, already too amply gratified, and to some military men, already enjoying a considerable stipend during a long series of years passed in idleness, sums of an extraordinary magnitude, for operations which it is their duty to perform, and which in every other government, except thine, they would be obliged to execute at their own expence.

WHETHER thou wilt persist in the fruitless possession of immense domains which yield thee nothing, and the alienation of which, while it might serve to discharge part of thy debt, would increase both thine own income and the riches of the nation. The man to whom every thing belongs as sovereign, ought not to possess any thing as a private man.

WHETHER

WHETHER thou wilt give way to the insatiable ^{B O O K}
 avidity of thy courtiers, and of the courtiers of ^{IV.}
 thy relations.

WHETHER thou wilt permit that the nobles, the magistrates, and all powerful and protected persons in thy kingdom, should continue to cast off from their own shoulders the burden of the taxes, in order to make it fall with greater weight upon the people. A species of extortion against which the groans of the oppressed, and the remonstrances of enlightened men, have so long and so unavailingly been uttered.

WHETHER thou wilt confirm to a body of men, who are in possession of a fourth part of the riches of the kingdom, the absurd privilege of taxing themselves at discretion, and under the title of gratuitous offerings, which they are not ashamed to give to their subsidies, to signify to thee that they owe thee nothing; that they are not the less entitled to thy protection, and to all the advantages of society, without taking upon themselves any of the duties of it, and that thou hast no right to any return of gratitude from them.

WHEN to these several questions thou hast of thyself given those just and sincere answers which thy feeling and royal heart shall dictate, let thy actions correspond with them. Be firm. Suffer not thyself to be shaken by any of those representations which duplicity or personal interest may suggest to restrain thee, perhaps even to inspire thee with terror; and be assured that thou wilt soon be the most revered, and the most formidable potentate of the earth.

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Yes, Lewis XVI., such is the fortune that awaits thee; and it is in the confidence that thou wilt attain to it, that I still remain attached to life. I have but one word more to say to thee, but that is of importance. It is, that thou should'st consider as the most dangerous of impostors, as the most inveterate enemy of our happiness and of thy glory, the impudent flatterer, who shall not hesitate to lull thee into a state of fatal tranquillity; either by representing to thee in a fainter light, the distressful picture of thy situation; or by exaggerating the impropriety, the danger, and the difficulty, of employing the resources that may occur to thy mind.

THOU wilt hear it whispered around thee: *These things cannot be done; and even if they could, they are innovations.* Innovations let them be. But all the discoveries that have been made in the arts and sciences, have they not been equally so? Is then the art of good government the only one that cannot be improved? Or are we to reckon as innovations, the general assembly of a great nation; the restoration of primitive liberty, and the respectable exertion of the first acts of natural justice?

Situation of
the India
Company at
the fall of
the system.

At the fall of the system, the government gave up to the India Company the monopoly of tobacco, in discharge of the ninety millions of livres* they had lent. It also granted them the exclusive privilege of all the lotteries in the kingdom, and allowed them to convert into life annuities and tontines part of their shares. There remained only to the number of fifty-six thousand
of

* 3,700,000l.

of these, which, by subsequent events, were reduced to fifty thousand two hundred sixty-eight and four-tenths. Unfortunately, this society preserved the privileges of the several companies out of which it had been formed; and this prerogative added neither to its wisdom or power; it confined the negro trade, and stopped the progress of the sugar colonies. Most of its privileges served only to authorise odious monopolies. The most fertile regions upon earth, when occupied by the Company, were neither peopled nor cultivated. The spirit of finance, which restrains pursuits as much as the commercial spirit enlarges them, became, and has ever since continued, the spirit of the Company. The directors thought only of turning to their own advantage the rights ceded to the Company in Asia, Africa, and America. It became a society of contractors, rather than of merchants. Nothing could possibly be said in praise of their administration, had they not been so honest as to pay off the debts accumulated in India for a century past; and taken care to secure Pondicherry against any invasion, by surrounding it with walls. Their trade was but trifling and precarious, till Orry was appointed to superintend the finances of the nation.

THAT upright and disinterested minister sullied his virtues by a harshness of temper, which he apologized for in a manner not much to the credit of the nation. One day when a friend was reproaching him with the roughness of his manners, he answered, *How can I behave otherwise? Out of a hundred people I see in a day, fifty take me for a*

Great success of the Company; with an account of those of its agents to whom it was owing.

B O O K *fool, and fifty for a knave.* He had a brother
IV. named Fulvy, who was less rigid in his principles,
 but had more affability, and a greater share of
 capacity. He intrusted him with the concerns of
 the Company, which could not but flourish under
 such a direction.

NOTWITHSTANDING the former prejudices and those which still prevailed; notwithstanding the abhorrence the public had for any remains of Law's system; notwithstanding the authority of the Sorbonne, which had decided that the dividend upon the shares came under the denomination of usury; notwithstanding the blindness of a nation, credulous enough not to be shocked at so absurd a decision; yet still the two brothers found means to convince Cardinal Fleury, that it was proper to support the India Company in an effectual manner. They even prevailed upon that minister, more skilful in the art of managing riches, than in that of increasing them, to lavish the king's favours upon this establishment. The care of superintending it's trade, and of enlarging it's powers, was afterwards committed to several persons of know'n abilities.

DUMAS was sent to Pondicherry. He soon obtained leave of the court of Delhi to coin money; which privilege was worth four or five hundred thousand livres * a year. He obtained a cession of the territory of Karical, which entitled him to a considerable share in the trade of Tanjour. Some time after, a hundred thousand Marattas invaded

* From 16,666l. 13s. 4d. to 20,833l. 6s. 8d.

the Decan. They attacked the Nabob of Arcot, who was vanquished and slain. His family, and several of his subjects, took refuge in Pondicherry. They were received with all the kindness due to allies in distress. Ragogi Bouffola, the general of the victorious army, demanded, that they should be delivered up to him; and further required the payment of 1,200,000 livres* in virtue of a tribute, which he pretended the French had formerly submitted to.

DUMAS made answer, That so long as the Moguls had been masters of that country, they had always treated the French with the respect due to one of the most illustrious nations in the world, which, in her turn, took a pride in protecting her benefactors; that it was contrary to the character of that magnanimous nation to deliver up a number of women and children, and of unfortunate and defenceless men, to see them put to death; that the fugitives then in the town were under the protection of his king, who esteemed it his highest honour to be the protector of the distressed; that every Frenchman in Pondicherry would cheerfully die in their defence; and that his own life was forfeited, if his sovereign were to know that he had so much as listened to the mention of a tribute. He added, that he was ready to defend the place to the last extremity; and if he should be overpowered, he would get on board his ships, and return to Europe: that Ragogi might consider whether he chose to expose his army to utter de-

* 50,000*l*.

struction, when the greatest advantage that could be obtained by it was to take possession of a heap of ruins.

THE Indians had not been accustomed to hear the French talk with so much dignity. This boldness staggered the general of the Marattas; and, after some negotiations skilfully carried on, he determined to grant peace to Pondicherry.

WHILST Dumas was procuring wealth and respect to the Company, the government sent la Bourdonnais to the Isle of France.

THE Portuguese, at the time of their first voyages to India, had discovered to the east of Madagascar, between the 19th and 20th degrees of latitude, three islands, to which they gave the names of Mascarenhas, Cerné, and Rodrigue. There they found neither men nor quadrupeds, and attempted no settlement upon either of the islands. The most western of them, which had been called Mascarenhas, had for it's first inhabitants, about the year 1660, seven or eight hundred Frenchmen. Five years after this they were joined by two-and-twenty of their countrymen. Their number was soon further increased by the calamity which destroyed the colony of Madagascar. The breeding of cattle was the first resource of these adventurers, transplanted under a new sky. They afterwards cultivated European corn, Asiatic and African fruits, and some vegetables fit for that mild climate. The health, plenty, and freedom they enjoyed, induced several navigators, who came there for refreshments and subsistence, to settle among them. Industry was extended

extended with population. In 1718, the discovery of a few wild coffee-trees suggested the idea of transplanting some coffee-trees from Arabia, which thrive extremely well. The culture of this precious tree, and other laborious employments, were performed by slaves from the coast of Africa, or from Madagascar. Then the island, which had changed its name from Mascarenhas to the isle of Bourbon, became an important object to the Company. There was, unfortunately, no harbour in the colony.

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THIS inconvenience turned the views of the French minister at Versailles towards the island of Cerné, where the Portuguese had, as usual, left some quadrupeds and fowls for the benefit of such of their ships as necessity should oblige to touch there. The Dutch, who afterwards took possession of it, forsook it in 1712, from an apprehension of multiplying their settlements too much. The island was uninhabited when the French landed there in 1720, and changed its name from Mauritius to the Isle of France, which it still bears.

Its first inhabitants came over from Bourbon, and were forgotten for fifteen years. They only formed, as it were, a corps de garde, with orders to hang out a French flag, to inform all nations that the island had a master. The Company, long undetermined, decided at last for keeping it, and in 1735 la Bourdonnais was commissioned to improve it.

THIS man, who has since been so famous, was born at St. Malo, and had been at sea from the age

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age of ten years; no sort of consideration had been able to interrupt his voyages, in every one of which he had signalized himself by some remarkable action. The Arabs and Portuguese, who were preparing to massacre one another in the road of Mocha, had been reconciled through his mediation, and he had displayed his valour in the war at Mahé. He was the first Frenchman who ever thought of sending armed vessels into the Indian seas. He was know'n to be equally skilful in the art of ship-building, as in that of navigating and defending a ship. His schemes bore the mark of genius, nor were his views contracted by the close attention he paid to all the minute details of whatever he undertook. His mind was never alarmed with the appearance of difficulties, and he possessed the rare talent of inspiring the men under his command with the same elevation of spirit. His enemies have reproached him with an immoderate passion for riches; and it must be acknowledged he was not scrupulous in the means of acquiring them.

He was no sooner arrived at the Isle of France, than he made it his business to acquire every information he could concerning it, in which he was much assisted by his fortunate sagacity, and his indefatigable activity. In a little time he endeavoured to instil a spirit of emulation into the first colonists on the island, who were entirely discouraged at the neglect with which they had been treated, and attempted to reduce to a strict subordination the vagrants lately arrived from the mother country. He made them cultivate rice
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and wheat, for the subsistence of the Europeans, and cassava, which he had brought from Brazil, for the slaves. They were to be furnished from Madagascar with meat for the daily consumption of the inhabitants and of sea-faring men, till the cattle they had procured from thence should multiply so considerably, as to prevent the necessity of importing any more. A post which he had established on the little island of Rodrigue, abundantly supplied the sick with turtle. Here ships going to India soon found all the refreshments and conveniences they wanted after a tedious passage. Three ships, one of which carried five hundred tons burden, were equipped and sent from the docks he had constructed. If the founder had not the satisfaction of bringing the colony to the utmost degree of prosperity it was capable of, at least he had the credit of having discovered what degree of importance it might acquire in able hands.

THESE improvements, however, though they seemed to be owen to enchantment, did not meet with the approbation of those who were principally concerned in them, and la Bourdonnais was compelled to justify himself. One of the directors was asking him one day how it happened that he had conducted the affairs of the Company so ill, while he had taken so much care of his own? *Because,* said he, *I have managed mine according to my own judgment, and those of the Company according to your directions.*

GREAT men have been in all parts more useful to the public than large collective bodies. Nations
and

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and societies are but the instruments of men of genius; these have been the real founders of states and colonies. Spain, Portugal, Holland, and England, owe their foreign conquests and settlements to able warriors, experienced seamen, and legislators of superior talents. France especially is more indebted to some fortunate individuals for the glory she has acquired, than to the form of her government. One of these superior men had just established the power of France over two important islands in Africa; another still more extraordinary, added splendour to the French name in Asia: this was Dupleix.

He was first sent to the banks of the Ganges, where he superintended the colony of Chandernagore. That settlement, though formed in a part of the globe the best adapted for great commercial undertakings, had been in a languid state, till he took the management of it. The Company had not been able to send any considerable funds to it; and the agents, who went over there without any property of their own, had not been able to avail themselves of the liberty that was allowed them of advancing their own private affairs. The activity of the new governor, who brought an ample fortune, the reward of ten years successful labours, soon spread throughout the colony. In a country abounding with money they soon found credit, when once they shewed themselves deserving of it. In a short time, Chandernagore excited the admiration of its neighbours, and the envy of its rivals. Dupleix, who had engaged the rest of the French in his vast speculations,

tions, opened fresh sources of commerce throughout the Mogul's dominions, and as far as Thibet. On his arrival he had not found a single sloop, and he fitted out fifteen armed vessels at once. These ships carried on trade from one part of India to another. Some he sent to the Red Sea, to the Gulph of Persia, to Surat, to Goa, to the Maldives and Manilla Islands, and to all the seas where there was a possibility of trading to advantage.

DUPLEIX had for twelve years supported the honour of the French name on the Ganges, and increased the revenue of the public, as well as the private fortunes of individuals, when he was called to Pondicherry, to take upon him the general superintendency of all the Company's affairs in India. They were then in a more flourishing condition than they had ever yet been, or have ever been since; as the returns of that year amounted to twenty-four millions*. Had they been still conducted with prudence, and had more confidence been placed in two such men as Dupleix and la Bourdonnais, it is probable that such a power would have been established as would not have been easily destroyed.

LA BOURDONNAIS saw an approaching rupture with England; and proposed a scheme which would have secured to the French the sovereignty of the seas in Asia, during the whole course of the war. Convinced, that which ever nation should first take up arms in India, would have a manifest ad-

* 1,000,000l.

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vantage over the other, he desired to be furnished with a Squadron, with which he intended to sail to the Isle of France, and there wait till hostilities began. He was then to set out from that island, in order to go and cruize in the straits of Sunda, through which most of the ships pass that are going to, or coming from China. There he would have intercepted all the English ships, and saved those of the French. He would have even taken the small Squadron which England sent into those latitudes; and, having thus made himself master of the Indian seas, would have ruined all the English settlements in those parts.

THE ministry approved of this plan, and granted him five men of war, with which he put to sea.

HE had scarcely set sail, when the directors, equally offended at their being kept in the dark with regard to the destination of the Squadron, and at the expences it had occasioned them, and jealous of the advantage this appointment would give to a man who, in their opinion, was already too independent, exclaimed against this armament as they had done before, and declared it to be useless. They were, or pretended to be, so fully convinced of the neutrality that would be observed in India between the two companies, that they persuaded the minister in that opinion, when la Bourdonnais was no longer present to animate him, and guide his inexperience.

THE court of Versailles was not aware that a power, supported chiefly by trade, would not easily be induced to leave them in quiet possession of the Indian ocean; and that, if she either made or
listened

listened to any proposals of neutrality, it must be only to gain time. It was not aware that, even supposing such an agreement was made *bonâ fide* on both sides, a thousand unforeseen events might interrupt it. It was not aware, that the object proposed could never be fully answered; because the sea-forces of both nations not being bound by any private agreement made between the two companies, would attack their ships in the European seas. It was not aware, that in the colonies themselves preparations would be made to guard against a surprise; that these precautions would create a mistrust on both sides; and that mistrust would bring on an open rupture. All these particulars were not perceived by the court, and the squadron was recalled. Hostilities began; and the loss of almost every French ship in India, shewed too late which of the two was the most judicious system of politics.

LA BOURDONNAIS was as deeply affected for the errors that had occasioned the misfortunes of the nation, as if he had been guilty of them himself, and exerted all his powers to remedy them. Without magazines, without provisions, without money, he found means by his attention and perseverance to form a squadron, composed of a sixty-gun ship, and five merchantmen, which he turned into men of war. He ventured to attack the English squadron, beat them, pursued and forced them to quit the coast of Coromandel; he then besieged and took Madras, the first of the English settlements. The conqueror was preparing for fresh expeditions, which were certain and easy; but

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he met with the most violent opposition, which not only occasioned the loss of the sum of 9,057,000 livres * he had stipulated for as the ransom of the city, but also deprived him of the success which must necessarily have followed this event.

THE Company was then governed by two of the king's commissaries, who were irreconcilable enemies to each other. The directors and the inferior officers had taken part in the quarrel, as they were swayed by their respective inclinations or interests. The two factions were extremely exasperated against each other. That which had caused La Bourdonnais's squadron to be taken from him, was charged to see that he had found resources in himself, which frustrated every attack that was made upon him. There is good reason to believe, that this faction pursued him to India, and instilled the poison of jealousy into the heart of Dupleix. Two men formed to esteem and love each other, to adorn the French name, and perhaps to descend together to posterity, became the vile tools of an animosity in which they were not the least interested. Dupleix opposed La Bourdonnais, and made him lose much time. The latter, after having staid too long on the coast of Coromandel, waiting for the succours which had been unnecessarily delayed, saw his squadron destroyed by a storm. The crews were disposed to mutiny. So many misfortunes, brought on by the intrigues of Dupleix, determined La Bourdonnais to return to Europe, where a horrid

* 377,375 l.

dungeon was the reward of his glorious services, and the end of the hopes which the nation had built upon his great talents. The English, delivered from that formidable enemy in India, and considerably reinforced, found themselves in a condition to attack the French in their turn; and accordingly laid siege to Pondicherry.

DUPLEIX then made amends for past errors. He defended the town with great skill and bravery; and after the trenches had been opened six weeks, the English were forced to raise the siege. The news of the peace arrived soon after, and all hostilities ceased between the companies of both nations.

THE taking of Madras, La Bourdonnais's engagement at sea, and the raising of the siege of Pondicherry, gave the Indian nations a high opinion of the French; and they were respected in those parts as the first and greatest of the European powers.

DUPLEIX endeavoured to avail himself of this disposition, and his attention was engaged in procuring solid and important advantages for his nation. In order to judge rightly of his projects, we must lay before the reader a description of the state of Indostan at that time.

If we may credit uncertain tradition, that fine rich country tempted the first conquerors of the world. But whether Bacchus, Hercules, Sesostris, or Darius, did or did not carry their arms through that large portion of the globe, certain it is, that it proved an inexhaustible fund of fictions and wonders to the ancient Greeks. These people, ever credulous,

Description
of Indostan.

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credulous, because they were carried away by their imagination, were so enchanted with these marvellous stories, that they still gave credit to them, even in the more enlightened ages of the republic.

If we consider this matter according to the principles of reason and truth, we shall find that a pure air, wholesome food, and great frugality, had early multiplied men to a prodigious degree in Indostan. They were acquainted with laws, civil government and arts; while the rest of the earth was desert and savage. Wise and beneficial institutions preserved these people from corruption, whose only care was to enjoy the benefits of the soil and of the climate. If from time to time their morals were tainted in some of these states, the empire was immediately subverted; and when Alexander entered these regions, he found very few kings, and many free cities.

A COUNTRY divided into numberless little states, some of which were popular, and others enslaved, could not make a very formidable resistance against the hero of Macedonia. His progress therefore was rapid, and he would have subdued the whole country, had not death overtaken him in the midst of his triumphs.

By following this conqueror in his expeditions, the Indian Sandrocotus had learned the art of war. This obscure man, who had nothing to recommend him but his talents, collected a numerous army, and drove the Macedonians out of the provinces they had invaded. This deliverer of his country then made himself master of it, and united
all

all Indostan under his dominion. How long he reigned, or what was the duration of the empire he had founded, is not know'n. BOOK
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At the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs over-ran India, as they did many other parts of the world. They subjected some few islands to their dominion; but, content with trading peaceably on the continent, they made but few settlements on it.

THREE centuries after this, some barbarians of their religion, who came out from Khorassan headed by Mahmoud, attacked India on the north side, and extended their depredations as far as Guzarat. They carried off immense spoils from those wealthy provinces, and buried them under ground in their wretched and barren deserts.

THESE calamities were not yet forgotten, when Gengis-Khan, who with his Tartars had subdued the greatest part of Asia, brought his victorious army to the western borders of India. This was about the year 1200. It is not know'n what part this conqueror and his descendants took in the affairs of Indostan. Probably, they did not concern themselves much about them; for it appears, that soon after, the Patans reigned over this fine country.

THESE men were a set of savage peasants, who flying in troops from the mountains of Candahar, spread themselves throughout the finest provinces of Indostan, and established there a succession of dominions, independent of each other.

THE Indians had scarce had time to accustom themselves to this foreign yoke, when they were

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once more forced to change masters. Tamerlane, who came from Great Tartary, and was already famous for his cruelties and his victories, advanced to the north side of Indostan, at the end of the fourteenth century, with a well-disciplined and triumphant army, inured to all the hardships of war. He secured the northern provinces himself, and abandoned the plunder of the southern ones to his lieutenants. He seemed determined to subdue all India, when on a sudden he turned his arms against Bajazer, overcame and dethroned that prince, and by the union of all his conquests found himself master of the immense space that extends from the delicious coast of Smyrna to the delightful borders of the Ganges. After his death, violent contests arose, and his posterity were deprived of his rich spoils. Babar, the sixth descendant of one of his children, alone survived to preserve his name.

THAT young prince, brought up in sloth and luxury, reigned in Samarcand, where his ancestor had ended his days. The Usbeck Tartars dethroned him, and constrained him to take refuge in the Cabylistan. Ranguildas, the governor of that province, received him kindly, and supplied him with troops.

THIS wise man addressed him in the following manner: " It is not towards the north, where
" vengeance would naturally call thee, that thy
" steps must be directed. Soldiers, enervated by
" the pleasures of India, could not without rashness
" attack warriors famous for their courage and
" their victories. Heaven has conducted thee to
" the

“ the banks of the Indus, in order to fix upon BOOK
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 “ thy brow one of the richest diadems in the uni-
 “ verse. Turn thy view towards Indostan. That
 “ empire, torn in pieces by the incessant wars of
 “ the Indians and Patans, calls for a master. It is
 “ in those delightful regions that thou must esta-
 “ blish a new monarchy, and raise thy glory equal
 “ to that of the formidable Tamerlane.”

THIS judicious advice made a strong impression on the mind of Babar. A plan of usurpation was immediately traced out, and pursued with activity and skill. Success attended the execution. The northern provinces, not excepting Delhi, submitted after some resistance; and thus a fugitive monarch had the honour of laying the foundation of the power of the Mogul Tartars, which subsists to this day.

THE preservation of this conquest required a form of government. That which Babar found established in India, was a kind of despotism, merely relative to civil matters, tempered by customs, forms, and opinion; in a word, adapted to that mildness which these nations derive from the influence of the climate, and from the more powerful ascendant of religious tenets. To this peaceable constitution Babar substituted a severe and military despotism, such as might be expected from a victorious and barbarous nation.

If we may rely upon the authority of one of the men who is the most deeply versed in Indian traditions, Ranguildas was long witness to the power of the new sovereign, and exulted in the success of his own councils. The recollection of

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the steps he had taken to place his master's son upon the throne, filled him with a conscious and real satisfaction.

ONE day, as he was praying in the temple, he heard a Banian, who stood by him, exclaim, "O God! thou seest the sufferings of my brethren. We are a prey to a young man who considers us as his property, which he may squander and consume at pleasure. Among the many children who call upon thee from these vast regions, one oppresses all the rest; avenge us of the tyrant; avenge us of the traitors who have placed him on the throne, without examining whether he was a just man."

RANGULDAS, astonished, drew near to the Banian, and said, "O thou, who curstest my old age, hear me. If I am guilty, my conscience has misled me. When I restored the inheritance to the son of my sovereign, when I exposed my life and fortune to establish his authority, God is my witness, that I thought I was acting in conformity to his wise decrees; and, at the very instant when I hear'd thy prayer, I was still thanking heaven for granting me, in my latter days, those two greatest of blessings, rest and glory."

"GLORY!" cries the Banian. "Learn, Rangildas, that glory belongs only to virtue, and not to actions which are only splendid, without being useful to mankind. Alas! what advantages did you procure to Indostan when you crowned the son of an usurper? Had you previously considered whether he was capable of
" doing

“ doing good, and whether he would have the B. O. O. K
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 “ will and resolution to be just? You say, you
 “ have restored to him the inheritance of his
 “ fathers, as if men could be bequeathed and
 “ possessed like lands and cattle. Pretend not to
 “ glory, O Ranguildas! or, if you look for gra-
 “ titude, go and seek it in the heart of Babar; he
 “ owes it you. You have purchased it at a great
 “ price, the happiness of a whole nation.”

BABAR, however, while he was bringing his subjects under the yoke of despotism, took care to confine it within certain bounds, and to draw up his institutes with so much force, that his successors, though absolute, could not possibly be unjust. The prince was to be the judge of the people and the arbiter of the state; but his tribunal and his council were to sit in public. Injustice and tyranny delight in darkness, that they may conceal themselves from their intended victims; but when the monarch's actions are to be submitted to the inspection of his subjects, it is a sign he intends nothing but their good. Openly to insult a number of men assembled, is such an outrage as even a tyrant would blush at.

THE principal support of his authority was a body of four thousand men, who stiled themselves the first slaves of the prince. Out of this body were chosen the Omrahs, those persons who composed the emperor's councils, and on whom he bestowed lands, distinguished by great privileges. This sort of possessions always reverted to the crown. It was on this condition that all great offices were given. So true it is, that despotism enriches it's slaves only to plunder them.

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GREAT interest, however, was made for the post of Omrah. Whoever aspired to the government of a province, made this the object of his ambition. To prevent any projects the governors might form for their own aggrandizement or independence, they always had overseers placed about them, who were not under their controul, and who were commissioned to inspect the use they made of the military force they were intrusted with, to keep the conquered Indians in awe. The fortified towns were frequently in the hands of officers, who were accountable only to the Court. That suspicious court often sent for it's delegate, and either continued or removed him, as it happened to suit it's fluctuating policy. These changes were grow'n so common, that a new governor coming out of Delhi, remained upon his elephant with his face turned towards the city, *waiting, as he said, to see his successor come out.*

THE form of government, however, was not the same throughout the empire; for the Moguls had left several Indian princes in possession of their sovereignties, and even given them a power of transmitting them to their descendents. They governed according to the laws of the country, though accountable to a nabob appointed by the court. They were only obliged to pay tribute, and to conform to the conditions stipulated with their ancestors at the time of the conquest.

THE conquering nation could not have committed any considerable ravages, since it does not yet constitute more than a tenth part of the population of India. There are a hundred millions of Indians

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to ten millions of Tartars. The two nations have never intermixed. The Indians are the only farmers and artificers. They alone live in the country, and carry on the manufactures. The Mohammedans are to be found in the capital, at court, in great cities, in the camps and armies.

It appears, that at the period when the Moguls entered Indostan, that country was no longer what it had formerly been. The landed property, which, in remote times, had been so firmly settled in the hands of private persons, was now generally become the prey of the depositaries of authority. All the lands belonged to the Indian or Patan princes; and it may easily be imagined that savage conquerors, sunk in ignorance and avarice, did not rectify this abuse, which is the utmost stretch of arbitrary power. That portion of the lands of the empire which the new sovereigns call their own, was divided into large governments, which were called subahships. The subahs, who were intrusted with the civil and military government, were also appointed to receive the revenues. This they committed to the care of the nabobs, whom they established throughout their subahships; and these again trusted this business to private farmers, whose immediate concern it was to cultivate the lands.

At the beginning of their year, which is in June, the nabob's officers agreed with the farmers for the price of their farm. A kind of deed was draw'n up, called jamabandi, which was deposited in the chancery of the province; after which, the farmers went, each in his own district, to look for husbandmen,

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husbandmen, and advanced them considerable sums to enable them to sow the ground. After harvest, the farmers remitted the produce of their grounds to the nabob's officers. The nabob delivered it to the subah, and the subah paid it into the emperor's treasury. The agreements were commonly for half the produce of the land; the other half went to pay the charges of culture, to enrich the farmers, and to subsist those whom they employed in tilling the land. In this system were comprised not only corn, which is the principal crop, but all other productions of the earth. Betel, salt, and tobacco, were all farmed in the same manner.

THERE were also some custom-houses, and some duties upon the public markets; but no poll-tax, or any tax upon industry. These arbitrary rulers had not thought of requiring any thing from men who had nothing left them. The weaver, sitting at his loom, worked without solicitude, and freely disposed of the fruit of his labour.

THIS liberty extended to every kind of moveables. They were truly the property of private persons, who were not accountable to any person for them. They could dispose of them in their life time; and, after their death, they devolved to their offspring. The houses of artificers, the town-houses with the little gardens belonging to them, were likewise accounted private property. They were hereditary, and might be sold.

IN the latter case, the buyer and seller appeared before the Cothoal. The conditions of the bargain were draw'n up in writing; and the

Cothoal

Cothoal affixed his seal to the deed, to make it valid, BOOK
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THE same formality was observed with regard to the purchase of slaves ; that is, of those unfortunate men, who, under the pressure of poverty, chose rather to be in bondage to one man who allowed them a subsistence, than to live under that general slavery in which they had no means of procuring the necessaries of life. They then sold themselves for a sum of money ; and this was transacted in presence of the Cothoal, that the master's property might not be contested.

THE Cothoal was a kind of notary public. There was one in every district of a certain size. It was before him that the few deeds were transacted, which the nature of such a government would admit of. Another officer, called Jemidar, decided all differences that arose between man and man ; and his decisions were almost always definitive, unless the cause was a very important one, or unless the aggrieved party was rich enough to pay for having it reversed at the nabob's court. The Jemidar was likewise intrusted with the police. He had a power of inflicting slight punishments ; but all capital offences were reserved for the judgment of the nabob, as he alone had a right to pronounce sentence of death.

SUCH a government, which was no better than a despotism gradually descending from the throne down to the meanest officer, could have no other spring than a coercive power constantly exerted. Accordingly, as soon as the rainy season was over, the monarch quitted his capital, and resided in his camp.

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camp. The nabobs, the rajas, and the principal officers, were summoned to attend him; and in this manner he proceeded through all the provinces successively, in military parade, which, however, did not preclude political artifice. One great man was often employed to oppress another. The most odious refinement of despotism is that of dividing it's slaves. These divisions were fomented by informers, publicly kept by the prince, who were continually spreading alarm and terror. These spies were always chosen among persons of the first rank. Corruption is at it's height, when power can ennoble what is mean.

EVERY year, the great Mogul set out on his travels, more as a conqueror than as a sovereign. He went to administer justice in the provinces, as if he were going to plunder them; and maintained his authority by a parade of military force, which makes arbitrary government a continual state of war. This manner of governing, though with legal forms, is very dangerous for the monarch. So long as the people feel their wrongs merely through the channel of those who are invested with his authority, they only murmur, upon the supposition that the sovereign is ignorant of them, and would not suffer any injustice if he knew it: but when the sovereign gives it a sanction by his presence and by his own decisions, then all confidence is at an end; the deception vanishes: he was a God; now he is an idiot, or a wicked man.

THE Mogul emperors, however, have long enjoyed the superstitious idea the nation had conceived

ed of their sacred character. That outward pomp which captivates the people more than justice, because men are more affected with what dazzles their eyes, than with what is beneficial to them; the richness and splendour of the prince's court; the grandeur that surrounded him in his travels; all this kept up in the minds of the people those prejudices of servile ignorance, which trembles before the idol it has raised. The various accounts that have been transmitted to us of the luxury of the most brilliant courts in the world, are not to be compared to the ostentatious parade of the great Mogul when he appears in public. The elephants, formerly so dreadful in war, but which are become useless in an army since the use of cannon; these immense animals that are unknow'n in our climates, give an Asiatic monarch an air of grandeur, of which we have no conception. The people fall prostrate before their majestic sovereign, who sits exalted upon a throne of gold, glittering with precious stones, mounted on the haughty animal, who proceeds slowly, proud to present the master of a great empire to the respect of so many slaves. Thus, by dazzling the eyes of men, or inspiring them with terror, the Moguls preserved and even enlarged their conquests. Aurengzebe completed them, by making himself master of the whole peninsula. All Indostan, excepting a small portion of it along the coast of Malabar, submitted to that superstitious and barbarous tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his father, his brothers, and his nephews.

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THIS infamous despot made the Mogul power an object of detestation, but he supported it as long as he lived. At his death it was irrecoverably reduced. The uncertainty, as to the right of succession, was the first cause of the disturbances that arose after his demise, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only one law was generally acknowledged; that which enacted, that the scepter should never go out of the family of Tamerlane; but every emperor was at liberty to chuse his successor, without being obliged to regard the degree of consanguinity. This indefinite right proved a source of discord. Young princes, whose birth intitled them to expect the crown, and who frequently were at the head of a province and an army, supported their claim sword-in-hand, and paid little regard to the will of a monarch who was no more. This happened at the death of Auréngzebe. His rich spoils were stained with blood. In these convulsions of the state, the springs that restrained an army of twelve hundred thousand men were relaxed. Every nabob aimed at being independent, increasing the contributions raised upon the people, and lessening the tributes sent into the emperor's treasury. No longer was any thing regulated by law, all was carried on by caprice, or throw'n into confusion by violent measures.

THE education of the young princes promised no remedy for all these evils. Left to the care of women till the age of seven years, tutored afterwards in some religious principles, they
wasted

wasted in the soft indulgences of a seraglio those years of youth and activity which ought to be employed in forming the man, and instructing him in the knowledge of life. Care was taken to enervate them, that they might not become dangerous. Conspiracies of children against their fathers were frequent. A suspicious system of policy tended to weaken the character of these young men, in order that they should not be capable of committing a crime. Hence that shocking thought of an oriental poet, that *fathers, while their sons are living, are fondest of their grandsons, because they love in them the enemies of their enemies.*

THE Moguls retained nothing of those hardy manners they had brought with them from their mountains. Those among them who were advanced to high offices, or had acquired large fortunes, changed their habitations according to the seasons. In these retirements, which were some of them more delightful than others, they lived in houses built only of clay or earth, but the inside of which presented every Asiatic luxury, together with all the pomp of the most corrupted courts. Wherever men cannot raise a lasting fortune, nor transmit it to their posterity, they are desirous of crowding all their enjoyments in the only moment they can call their own. Every pleasure, and even life itself, is exhausted in the midst of perfumes and women.

THE Mogul empire was in this state of weakness when it was attacked, in 1738, by the famous Nadercha, better known among us by the name

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of Thamas Kouli-Kan. The innumerable armies of India were dispersed, without resistance, by a hundred thousand Persians; as those very Persians had formerly fled before thirty thousand Greeks trained by Alexander. Thamas entered victorious into Delhi, received the homage of Muhammet, suffered that weak monarch to live and to reign, united to Persia all the provinces that suited him, and returned loaded with an immense booty, the spoils of Indostan.

MUHAMMET, despised by his conqueror, was still more so by his subjects. The great men would not serve under a vassal of the king of Persia. The nabobships became independent, paying only a small tribute. In vain did the emperor declare that the nabobs should still be removeable; each of them strove with all his power to make his dignity hereditary, and the sword decided every contest. The subjects were constantly at war with their master, and were not considered as rebels. Whoever could afford to pay a body of troops, pretended to a sovereignty. The only formality observed, was to counterfeit the emperor's sign manual in a *firman*, or warrant of investiture. It was brought to the usurper, who received it on his knees. This farce was necessary to impose upon the people, who had still respect enough remaining for the family of Tamerlane, to choose that all authority should, at least, appear to proceed from that source.

Thus did discord, ambition, and anarchy oppress this beautiful region of Indostan. Crimes could the more easily be concealed, as it was the custom

custom of the great never to write but in ambiguous terms, and to employ none but obscure agents, whom they disowned when they found it necessary. Assassination and poisoning became common crimes, which were buried in the dark recesses of those impenetrable palaces, full of attendants, ever ready to perpetrate the blackest acts on the least signal from their master.

THE foreign troops that were called in by the contending parties, completed the miseries of this unhappy country. They carried off all the riches of the land, or obliged the owners to bury them under ground; and thus it was that the treasures amassed for so many ages gradually disappeared. A general dejection ensued. The grounds lay fallow, and the manufactures stood still. The people would no longer work for foreign plunderers, or domestic oppressors. Want and famine were soon felt. These calamities, which for ten years had infested the provinces of the empire, began to visit the coast of Coromandel. The wise Nizam-el Muluck, subah of the Decan, was now no more. His prudence and talents had kept that part of India which he commanded in a flourishing state. The European merchants were apprehensive that their trade might fail when it had lost that support. They saw no resource against that danger, but to have a territory of their own, large enough to contain a number of manufacturers sufficient to make up their lading.

DUPLEIX was the first who considered this as a practicable scheme. The war had brought many troops to Pondicherry, with which he hoped, by

Means employed by the French to acquire large possessions in India.

rapid conquests, to procure greater advantages than the rival nations had obtained by a steady conduct and mature deliberation.

He had long studied the character of the Moguls, their intrigues, and their political interests. He had acquired such knowledge of these matters, as might have been surprising even in a man brought up at the court of Delhi. This knowledge, deeply combined, had convinced him that it would be in his power to attain a principal influence in the affairs of Indostan; possibly, to manage them at his pleasure. His spirit, which prompted him to attempt more than he was able to perform, gave additional strength to his reflections. Nothing terrified him in the great part he proposed to act at the distance of six thousand leagues from his native country. In vain did his friends represent to him the dangers attending such an undertaking; he considered nothing but the glorious advantage of securing to France a new dominion in the heart of Asia; of enabling her, by the revenues annexed to it, to defray the charges of trade and the expences of sovereignty; and even of freeing her from the tribute which our luxury pays to the industry of the Indians, by procuring rich and numerous cargoes, which should not be bought with any exports of money, but with the overflowings of the new revenues. Full of this great project, Dupleix eagerly seized the first opportunity that offered to put it in execution, and soon took upon him to dispose of the subahship of the Decan, and the nabobship of the Carnatic, in favour of two men who were ready to give up any thing he should require.

THE subahship of the Decan is a viceroyalty, made up of several provinces which were formerly so many independent states. It extends from Cape Comorin to the Ganges. The subah has the superintendence of all the Indian princes, and all the Mogul governors within his jurisdiction; and in his hands are deposited the contributions that are destined to fill the public treasure. He can compel his inferior officers to attend him in all military expeditions he may think proper to make into the countries under his dominion; but he is not allowed to march them into a foreign territory, without an express order from the emperor.

THE subahship of the Decan becoming vacant in 1748, Dupleix, after a series of events and revolutions, in which the corruption of the Moguls, the weakness of the Indians, and the boldness of the French, were equally conspicuous, disposed of it, towards the beginning of the year 1751, in favour of Salabat-jing, a son of the late viceroy.

THIS success secured great advantages to the French settlements along the coast of Coromandel; but Pondicherry was a place of such importance, that it was thought to deserve a particular attention. This town, which is situated in the Carnatic, has such constant and immediate connections with the nabob of that rich district, that it was thought adviseable to procure the government of the province for a man whose affection and submission might be depended upon. The choice fell upon Chunda-saeb, a relation of the late nabob, well know'n for his intrigues, his

B O O K misfortunes, his warlike exploits, and his steadiness of temper.
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IN return for their services, the French made him give up an immense territory. The principal of their acquisitions was the island of Seringham, formed by the two branches of the Caveri. This long and fertile island derives its name and its consequence from a Pagoda, which is fortified, as most great buildings that are devoted to public worship. The temple is surrounded with seven square inclosures, at the distance of three hundred and fifty feet from each other, and formed by walls of a moderate height, which are proportionably thick. The altar stands in the center. A single monument of this kind, with its fortifications, and the mysteries and riches it contains, is more likely to enforce and perpetuate a religion, than a multiplicity of temples and priests dispersed in different towns, with their sacrifices, ceremonies, prayers, and discourses, which, by their number, their frequent repetition, and their being performed in public, are apt to tire the people: these are also exposed to the contempt of enlightened reason, to dangerous profanations, or to the slight and neglect of the people; a circumstance which the priests dread more than sacrilege itself. The priests of India, as wise as those of Egypt, suffer no stranger to penetrate into the Pagoda of Seringham. Amidst the fables in which the history of this temple is involved, probably some acute philosopher might, if he were admitted into it, trace from the emblems, the form and construction of the edifice, and the superstitious practices

tices and traditions peculiar to that sacred inclosure, many sources of instruction, and acquire an insight into the history of the most remote ages. Pilgrims resort thither from all parts of Indostan, to obtain absolution of their sins, and always bring an offering proportionable to their circumstances. These gifts were still so considerable at the beginning of the present century, as to maintain forty thousand men in a life of sloth and idleness. The Bramins of this temple, though under the restraints of subordination, were seldom know'n to quit their retirement for the more busy scenes of intrigue and politics.

INDEPENDENT of other advantages which the French enjoyed by the acquisition of Seringham, the situation gave them great influence over the neighbouring countries, and an absolute command over the kingdom of Tanjour, as they could at any time stop the waters that were wanted for the culture of the rice.

THE territories of Karical and Pondicherry obtained an accession of ten leagues each, with fourscore villages. If these acquisitions were not so considerable as that of Seringham in point of political influence, they were much more so with regard to trade.

BUT this was a trifling acquisition compared to the territory that was gained to the North, which comprehended the Condavir, Masulipatnam, the island of Divi, and the four provinces of Mustafanagur, Elur, Rajamandry, and Chicakol. Such important concessions made the French masters of the coast for the space of six hundred miles, and

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procured them the best linen in Indostan. It is true they were to enjoy the four provinces no longer than they should furnish the subah with a stipulated number of troops, and maintain them at their own expence; but this agreement, which was only binding to their honesty, gave them little concern. Their ambition made them already think themselves in possession of the treasures that had been heaped up in those vast regions for so many ages.

THE ambitious views of the French, and their projects of conquest, were carried much beyond this. They proposed to obtain a cession of the capital of the Portuguese colonies, and to seize upon the district of a triangular form, which lies between Masulipatnam, Goa, and Cape Comorin.

IN the mean time, till they could realize these brilliant chimeras, they considered the personal honours that were lavished upon Dupleix as a presage of the greatest prosperity. It is well know'n, that every foreign colony is in some degree odious to the natives; it is therefore good policy to endeavour to lessen this aversion, and the surest way to attain that end, is, to conform as much as possible to the customs and manners of the country. This maxim, which is in general true, is more particularly so in countries where the people reflect but little; and is consequently so in India.

THE inclination which the French commander had for Asiatic pomp, was still a further inducement with him to conform to the customs of the country. Accordingly, he was exceedingly rejoiced

joiced when he saw himself invested with the dignity of a nabob. That title put him upon a level with those whose protection he solicited before, and afforded him considerable opportunities to pave the way for those great revolutions he meditated, in order to promote the important interests he was intrusted with. He entertained still greater hopes on being appointed governor of all the Mogul possessions, throughout an extent little inferior to the whole kingdom of France. All the revenues of those rich provinces were to be deposited in his hands, and he was accountable to none but the subah himself.

THOUGH these agreements entered into by merchants could not be very pleasing to the court of Delhi, they were not much afraid of it's resentment. The emperor, being in want of men and money, which the subahs, the nabobs, the rajas, his meanest delegates, took upon themselves to refuse him, found himself attacked on all sides.

THE Rajaputes, descended from those Indians with whom Alexander had been engaged in battle, being driven out of their lands by the Moguls, took shelter in some mountains that are almost inaccessible. Continual disturbances put it out of their power to think of conquests, but in the intervals of their dissensions, they make inroads that cannot fail of harassing an empire already exhausted,

THE Patans are still more formidable enemies. Driven by the Moguls from most of the thrones of Indostan, they have taken refuge at the foot of Mount

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Mount Imaüs, which is a continuation of the Caucasus. That situation has strangely altered their manners, and given them a fierceness of temper which they had not in a milder climate. War is their chief employment. They serve alike under the banners of Indian or Mohammedan princes; but their obedience is not equal to their valour. Whatever crime they may have been guilty of, it is dangerous to punish them; for they are so vindictive, that they will murder when they are weak, and revolt when they are strong enough to attempt any bold enterprize. Since the reigning power has lost it's strength, the nation has shaken off the yoke. Not many years ago, their generals carried on their ravages as far as Delhi, and did not quit that capital till they had plundered it.

To the north of Indostan is a nation, which, though lately know'n, is the more formidable for being a new enemy. This people, distinguished by the name of Scheiks, have found means to free themselves from the chains of despotism and superstition, though surrounded by nations of slaves. They are said to be followers of a philosopher of Thibet, who inspired them with some notions of liberty, and taught them Theism without any mixture of superstition. They first appeared in the beginning of the present century; but were then considered rather as a sect than as a nation. During the calamities of the Mogul empire, their number increased considerably by apostates of all religions, who joined with them, and sought shelter among them from the oppressions and fury of
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their tyrants. To be admitted of that society, BOOK
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BUT of all the enemies of the Moguls, none are; perhaps, so dangerous as the Marattas. This nation, of late so famous, as far as the obscurity of their origin and history will allow us to conjecture, possessed several provinces of Indostan, from whence they were driven by the fear or the arms of the Moguls. They fled into the mountains which extend from Surat to Goa, and there formed several tribes, which in process of time united into one state, of which Satarah was for a long time, and Ponah now is, the capital.

MOST of them carried vice and licentiousness to all the excesses which might be expected from an ignorant people, who have cast off the yoke of prejudices; without substituting wholesome laws and knowledge in their stead. Tired of laudable and peaceful labours, they thought of nothing but rapine. Yet this was confined to the plundering of a few villages, and the robbing of some cara-

vans;

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vans; till the coast of Coromandel, being threatened by Aurengzebe, made them sensible of their strength, by imploring their assistance.

At this period, they were seen coming out of their rocks, mounted on small and ill-shaped horses, but stout, and accustomed to indifferent feeding, to difficult roads, and to excessive fatigue. The whole accoutrement of a Maratta horseman consisted of a turban, a girdle, and a cloak. His provisions were a little bag of rice, and a leather bottle full of water. His only weapon was an excellent sabre.

NOTWITHSTANDING the assistance of these barbarians, the Indian princes were forced to bend to the yoke of Aurengzebe; but the conqueror, weary of contending with irregular troops, which were continually ravaging the newly-reduced provinces, determined to conclude a treaty that would have been dishonourable, had it not been dictated by necessity, which is stronger than prejudices, oaths, and laws. He ceded for ever to the Marattas the fourth part of the revenues of the Decan, a subahship formed out of all his usurpations in the peninsula.

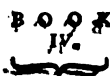
THIS kind of tribute was regularly paid as long as Aurengzebe lived. After his death, it was granted or refused according to circumstances. The levying of it brought the Marattas in arms to the remotest parts of their mountains. Their boldness increased during the anarchy of Indostan. They have made the empire tremble; they have deposed monarchs; they have extended their frontiers; they have granted their protection to rajas
and

and nabobs who strove to be independent, and their influence has been unbounded.

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WHILE the court of Delhi was with difficulty contending with so many enemies, all conspiring to effect it's ruin, M. de Buffy, who with a small corps of French troops, and an army of Indians, had conducted Salabat-jing to Aurengabad his capital, endeavoured to establish him on the throne where he had placed him. The weakness of the prince, the conspiracies which it occasioned, the firmans or privileges which had been granted to rivals, and other impediments, obstructed, but could not subvert his projects. By his means the prince reigned more peaceably under the protection of the French than could have been expected, considering the circumstances of his situation; and he preserved him absolutely independent of the head of the empire.

CHUNDA-SAEB, appointed nabob of the Carnatic, was not in so happy a situation. The English, ever in opposition to the French, had stirred up a rival against him, named Mohammed-Ali-Khan. The names of those two princes served as a pretence for carrying on a vigorous war between the two nations: they fought for glory, for wealth, and to serve the passions of their respective commanders, Dupleix and Saunders. Victory declared alternately for each army. Success would not have been so fluctuating, had the governor of Madras had more troops, or the governor of Pondicherry better officers. It was difficult to conjecture which of those two men, who were both of the same inflexible temper, would in the


 end, obtain the superiority; but it was very certain that neither would submit, while he had either troops or money left. Nor was it likely that either of them would soon be reduced to this extremity, notwithstanding their amazing efforts, because they both found such resources in their hatred and their genius, as even the most able men could not have any conception of. It was evident that the disturbances in the Carnatic would not be at an end, unless the peace was first settled in Europe; and it was to be feared that the flame which had been confined to India for six years might spread further. The ministers of France and England obviated this danger, by enjoining the two companies to fix certain terms of agreement. They made a conditional treaty, which began by suspending all hostilities at the commencement of the year 1755; and was to end by establishing between them a perfect equality of territory, of strength, and of trade, on the coasts of Coromandel and Orixa. This stipulation had not yet received the sanction of the courts of London and Versailles, when greater interests kindled a fresh war between the two nations.

War be-
 tween the
 English and
 French.
 The French
 lost all their
 settlements.

THE report of this great contest, which began in North America, and spread itself throughout the universe, reached the East Indies at a time when the English were engaged in a very intricate war with the subah of Bengal. Had the French been then in the same state they were some years before, they would have joined with the natives. From narrow views and ill-judged interests, they were desirous of entering into a formal

mal convention, to secure the neutrality which had subsisted on the banks of the Ganges during the last disturbances. Their rivals amused them with the hopes of settling this convention, so long as they wanted to keep them in a state of inaction. But as soon as their successes had enabled them to make their own terms, they attacked Chandernagore. The reduction of this place was followed by the ruin of all the factories dependent upon it, and put the English in a condition to send men, money, provisions, and ships, to the coast of Coromandel, where the French were just arrived with considerable land and sea forces.

THESE forces, destined to protect the settlements of their own nation, and destroy those of the enemy, were more than sufficient to answer both those purposes. The only point was to make a proper use of them; but there was a mistake in this from the beginning, as will plainly appear from the following observations.

BEFORE the commencement of the war, the Company possessed on the coasts of Coromandel and Orixa, Masulipatnam, with five provinces; a large circuit of land about Pondicherry, which for a long time before had been nothing but a sand-bank; and an extent nearly of the same size in the neighbourhood of Karical; and, lastly, the island of Seringham. These possessions made four tracts of country, too far distant to support each other. They bore the marks of the wild fancy and extravagant imagination of Dupleix, who had made these acquisitions.

THESE

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THESE political errors might have been amended. Dupleix, who compensated for his defects by his great qualities, had acquired so great an influence, that he was offered the perpetual government of the Carnatic. It was the most flourishing province in all the Mogul empire. By singular and fortunate circumstances, it had been governed successively by three nabobs of the same family, who had been equally attentive to agriculture and industry. General felicity had been the result of this mild government and public-spirited conduct, and the public revenues had increased to twelve millions*. A sixth part of this sum would have been given to Salabat-jing, and the rest would have been for the Company.

If the ministry and the direction, who alternately supported and neglected their power in India, had but been capable of a firm and settled resolution, they might have sent orders to their agent to give up all the remote conquests, and to be content with that important settlement. It was alone sufficient to give the French a firm establishment, a compact territory in which the settlements would be contiguous, a very large quantity of merchandise, provisions for their fortified towns, and revenues sufficient to maintain a body of troops, which would have enabled them to set the jealousy of their neighbours, and the hatred of their enemies at defiance. Unfortunately for them, the court of Versailles ordered that Dupleix should

* 50,000*l*.

not accept of the Carnatic ; and affairs remained as they were before that proposal.

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THE situation was critical. Dupleix was, perhaps, the only man who could support himself in it, or in his stead the celebrated officer who had had the greatest share in his confidence, and was best acquainted with his schemes. The contrary opinion prevailed. Dupleix had been recalled. The general, who was appointed to conduct the Indian war, imagined he must demolish a structure which ought only to have been supported in those troublesome times, and discovered his designs in so public a manner, as contributed greatly to heighten the imprudence of his resolutions.

THIS man, whose ungovernable temper could never adapt itself to circumstances, had received from nature none of those qualities that render a man fit for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous, and irregular imagination ; so that there was a perpetual contrast between his conversation and his projects, and between his projects and his actions. Passionate, suspicious, jealous, and positive to excess, he created an universal diffidence and dejection, and excited animosities never to be suppressed. His military operations, his civil government, his political combinations, all bore evident marks of the confusion of his ideas.

THE evacuation of the island of Seringham was the principal cause of the disasters that attended the war with Tanjour. Masulipatnam, and the northern provinces were lost, from having given up the alliance of Salabat-jing. The inferior

powers of the Carnatic, who no longer respected the French for the sake of their old friend the subah of the Decan, completed the general ruin by espousing other interests.

ON the other hand, the French squadron, though superior to the English, with which it had engaged three several times without gaining any advantage over it, was at last obliged to leave it master of the seas, by which the fate of India was decided. Pondicherry, after struggling with all the horrors of famine, was forced to surrender on the 15th of January 1761. Lally had, the day before, corrected a plan of capitulation draw'n up by the council; he had named deputies to carry it to the enemy's camp; and, by a contradiction that was characteristic of the man, he gave the deputies a letter for the English general, in which he told him, *he would have no capitulation, because the English were such people that they would not adhere to it.*

IN taking possession of the place, the conqueror caused not only the troops that had defended it, but all the French in the Company's service, to be shipped off for Europe; and, not satisfied even with that revenge, they destroyed Pondicherry, and made that noble city a heap of ruins.

THOSE of the inhabitants who were sent over to France, arrived in despair, at having lost their fortunes, and seen their houses demolished as they quitted the shore. They filled Paris with their clamours; they excited the indignation of the public against their governor; they impeached him as the author of all their miseries, and the
sole

sole cause of the loss of a flourishing colony. Lally BOOK
IV. was taken up, and tried by the parliament. He had been accused of high treason and extortion; of the first he was acquitted, and of the second no proof could be brought; yet Lally was condemned to lose his head.

LET us ask, in the name of humanity, what his crime was, that it should be punishable by law? The awful sword of justice was not put into the hands of the magistrate to gratify private resentment, or even to follow the emotions of public indignation. The law alone must point out it's own victims; and, if the clamours of a blind and incensed multitude could sway with the judges to pronounce a capital sentence, the innocent might suffer for the guilty, and there would be no safety for the citizen. In this point of view let us examine the sentence.

It declares, that Lally stands convicted of *having betrayed the interests of the king, of the state, and of the India Company*. What is meant by betraying of interests? What law is there that makes it death to be guilty of this vague and indefinite crime? No such law either does or can exist. Disgrace from the prince, contempt from the nation, and public infamy; these are the proper punishments for the man, who, from incapacity or folly, has not served his country as he ought: but death, and that too upon a scaffold, is destined for crimes of a different nature.

THE sentence further declares, that Lally stands convicted of *venations, exactions, and abuse of authority*. No doubt he was guilty of these in num-

berless instances. He made use of violent means to procure pecuniary aids; but this money was put into the public treasure. He injured and oppressed the citizens; but he never attempted any thing against their lives, or against their honour. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but caused no one to be executed upon them.

IN fact, he was a madman of a dark and dangerous cast; an odious and despicable man; a man totally incapable of command. But he was neither guilty of public extortions nor treason; and, to use the expression of a philosopher whose virtues do honour to humanity, *every one had a right to kill Lally, except the executioner.*

Causes of
the misfor-
tunes of the
French.

THE misfortunes that befel the French in Asia had been foreseen by all considerate men, who reflected on the corruption of the nation. Their morals especially had degenerated in the voluptuous climate of India. The wars which Dupleix had carried on in the inland parts had laid the foundation of many fortunes. They were increased and multiplied by the gifts which Salabat-jing lavished on those who conducted him in triumph to his capital, and fixed him on the throne. The officers who had not shared the dangers, the glory, and the benefits of those brilliant expeditions, found out an expedient to comfort themselves under their misfortune; which was, to reduce the sipahis to half the number they were ordered to maintain, and to apply their pay to their own benefit; which they could easily do, as the money passed through their hands. The agents for trade, who had not these resources, accounted to the
Company

Company but for a very small part of the profits made upon the European goods they sold, though they ought to have been all their own; and sold them those in India at a very high price, which they ought to have had at prime cost. Those who were intrusted with collecting the revenue of any particular spot, farmed it themselves under Indian names, or let it for a trifle, upon receiving a handsome gratuity; they even frequently kept back the whole income of such estates, under pretence of some imaginary robbery or devastation, which had made it impossible to collect it. All undertakings, of what nature soever, were clandestinely agreed upon; and became the prey of the persons employed in them, who had found means to make themselves formidable, or of such as were most in favour, or richest. The authorized abuse that prevails in India, of giving and receiving presents on the conclusion of every treaty, had multiplied these transactions without necessity. The navigators who landed in those parts, dazzled with the fortunes which they saw increased fourfold from one voyage to another, no longer regarded their ships, but as the means of carrying on trade and acquiring wealth. Corruption was brought to it's greatest height by people of rank, who had been disgraced and ruined at home; but who, being encouraged by what they saw, and impelled by the reports that were brought to them, resolved to go themselves into Asia, in hopes of retrieving their shattered fortunes, or of being able to continue their irregularities with impunity. The personal conduct of the directors made it necessary for them to con-

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IV.

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with attending to nothing in their office but the credit, the money, and the power it gave them ; with giving the most important posts to their own relations, men of no morals, application, or capacity ; with multiplying the number of factors without necessity and without bounds, to secure friends in the city and at court ; and, lastly, they were accused of obtruding upon the public commodities which might have been bought cheaper and better in other places. Whether the government did not know of these excesses, or had not resolution enough to put a stop to them, it was, by it's blindness or it's weakness, in some measure accessory to the ruin of the affairs of the nation in India. It might even without injustice be charged with being the principal cause of them, by sending such improper persons to manage and defend an important settlement, which had no less to fear from it's own corruption, than from the English fleets and armies.

Measures
taken by
the French
to re-establish
affairs
in India.

THE disasters of the Company abroad were aggravated by their situation equally distressful at home. It was necessary to represent these twofold misfortunes to the proprietors. This discovery occasioned a general despondency, which gave rise to a variety of different schemes, all equally absurd. These several schemes were hastily discussed ; nor was it possible that any of them could be fixed upon by men in such a state of uncertainty and diffidence. The deliberations were carried on with too much asperity ; and time, which was of so much consequence, was lost in upbraidings and invectives.

No

No one could foresee where these commotions would end. The storm at length subsided, and fresh hopes began to dawn. The Company, which the enemies to all exclusive privileges wished to see abolished, and which so many private interests had conspired to destroy, still maintained its ground : but it was put upon a better footing ; a circumstance which was absolutely necessary. BOOK
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AMONG the causes that had occasioned the distresses of the Company, there was one which had long been looked upon as the source of all the rest ; this was the dependence, or rather the slavery, in which the government had kept that great body for near half a century.

EVER since the year 1723, the directors had been chosen by the court. In 1730, a commissary appointed by the king was introduced into the administration of the Company. From this period there was an end to all freedom of debate ; there was no longer any connection between those who had the management of affairs, and the proprietors ; no immediate intercourse between the managers and the government. All was directed by the influence, and according to the views of the court. Mystery, that dangerous veil of arbitrary administration, concealed all the operations ; and it was not till 1744 that the proprietors were called together. They were impowered to name syndics, and to call a general meeting once a year ; but they were not better informed of the state of their affairs, nor more at liberty to direct them. The power of choosing the directors was still vested in

BOOK the crown, and instead of one commissary, the
IV. king chose to have two.

FROM this time two parties were formed. Each commissary had his own scheme, his own favourites, and endeavoured to get his own projects adopted. Hence arose divisions, intrigues, informations, and animosities, which, though they originated in Paris, extended as far as India, and there broke out in a manner so fatal to the nation.

THE ministry, shocked at such a number of abuses, and weary of those endless contests, attempted to remedy them. It was imagined he had succeeded, by appointing a third commissary. This expedient, however, served only to increase the evil. Despotism had prevailed while there was but one; division ensued on the nomination of two; and from the moment three were appointed, all was anarchy and confusion. They were reduced to two, and pains were taken to preserve harmony as much as possible between them; and in 1764 there was but one, when the proprietors desired that the Company might be brought back to it's original form by restoring it's freedom.

THEY ventured to represent to the government, that they might impute the disasters and errors of the Company to themselves, as the proprietors had not been concerned in the management of their affairs; that they could never be carried on most advantageously both for them and for the state, till this could be done with freedom, and till an immediate intercourse was established between

tween the proprietors and the directors, and between the directors and the ministry ; that whenever there was an intermediate person, the orders given on one part, and the reports made on the other, would necessarily, in passing through his hands, take a tincture of his own private views and inclinations, so that he would always be, in fact, the real and sole director of the Company ; that such a director, not being himself personally concerned in the affairs of the Company, or not being a competent judge of them, would always sacrifice the welfare and true interest of trade, to add to the transient pomp of his appointment, and to secure the favour of placemen ; that, on the contrary, every thing might be expected from a free direction, chosen by the proprietors, acting under their inspection, and in concert with them, and subject to no kind of restraint.

THE government was sensible of the truth of these reasons. It secured the freedom of the Company by a solemn edict ; and some regulations were made, to put the direction of it under a new form.

THE intention of these statutes was, that the Company might no longer be ruled by men, who often were not worthy to be it's factors ; that the government might no further interfere than to protect it ; that it might be alike preserved from that slavery under which it had so long been oppressed, and from that spirit of mystery, which had perpetuated it's corruption ; that there should be a constant intercourse between the directors and the proprietors ; that Paris, deprived of the advantage

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advantage enjoyed by the capitals of other commercial nations, of being a sea-port, might acquire a knowledge of trade in free and peaceable assemblies; that the citizen might form just notions of that powerful tie that connects all nations together, and, by informing himself of the sources of public prosperity, learn to respect the merchant whose operations contribute to it, and to despise the professions that are destructive of it.

THESE wise regulations were attended with happier consequences than could possibly be expected. A great activity was observed on all sides. During the five years that the new direction lasted, the sales produced annually 18,000,000 livres*. They had not been so considerable, even in those times which had been looked upon as the most prosperous; for, from 1726 to 1736 inclusively, they had amounted to no more than 437,376,284 livres†, which makes upon an average, in peace and war, 14,108,912‡ livres a year.

IMMINENT distress was, however, concealed under this appearance of prosperity. When this was suspected, and endeavours were made to ascertain the matter, it was found that the Company, on renewing its trade, was more indebted than it had been supposed. This is a circumstance common to all mercantile bodies, whose transactions are complicated, extensive, and carried on in distant countries. They have scarce ever a just idea of their situation. Whether this mistake be to be attributed to the fraud, neglect,

* 750,000l. † 18,224,011l. 16s. 8d. ‡ 587,871l. 6s. 8d.

or incapacity of their agents, certain it is, that it takes place almost universally. The confusion is still increased by the calamity of war. That which the French had been sustaining in India, had been tedious and unsuccessful. The expences and depredations of it were but imperfectly know'n; and the Company began their operations, reckoning upon a larger capital than they possessed.

THIS mistake, ruinous in itself, was followed by other fatal errors, which arose, perhaps, from not having sufficiently reflected on the revolutions that had happened recently in India. The Company flattered themselves that their sales would amount to twenty-five millions of livres*, and they were below eighteen millions†. They flattered themselves, that the European commodities would be sold for fifty per cent. more than they had cost, while they scarce fetched their original price. They flattered themselves with a profit of cent. per cent. upon the productions that should be brought into our climates, and it amounted to no more than seventy-two per cent.

ALL these miscalculations arose from the ruin of the French credit in India, and from the exorbitant power of the victorious nation that had lately subdued those distant regions: from the necessity there frequently was of taking upon credit bad merchandize from the English merchants, who were endeavouring to convey to Europe the immense fortunes they had amassed in

* 1,041,666l. 13s. 4d.

† 750,000l.

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Asia : from the impossibility of procuring funds necessary for carrying on the trade without giving an exorbitant interest : from the obligation the Company were under of supplying provisions for the isles of France and Bourbon, which advances were slowly and ill paid by the government, as well as the gratifications granted to them for their exports and imports.

LASTLY, according to the plan of the directors, the expences necessary for the carrying on of trade, and for the maintaining of sovereignty, were not to exceed four millions of livres*, whereas they amounted to more than twice that sum. The expences for maintaining the right of sovereignty might even be carried much beyond this in future, since in their nature they were capable of being extended and increased in conformity with the political views of the monarch, the sole judge of their importance and necessity.

IN such a situation, it was impossible that the disorderly state of the affairs of the Company should not be more and more increased. Their ruin, as well as that of their creditors, was upon the point of being completed, when government, warned by the repeated loans they were continually renewing, determined to inquire into the state of their finances. As soon as it became acquainted with them, it was thought proper to suspend their exclusive privilege of trade with India. Let us now examine what was the condition of the Company at that period.

* 180,000l.

BEFORE 1764, the number of shares amounted to 50,268. At that period the ministry, who, in 1746, 1747, and 1748, had given up to the proprietors the produce of the shares and bonds which were their property, relinquished in their favour the shares and bonds themselves, to the number of 11,835 together, to indemnify them for the expences they had incurred during the last war. These shares having been cancelled, there remained but 38,432.

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IV.

The charter
of the com-
pany is sus-
pended.
Their state
at that pe-
riod.

THE wants of the company obliged them to make a call of 400 livres * per share. Upwards of 34,000 shares answered the call. The 4000 that did not were reduced, by the terms of the edict which impowered the Company to make the call, to five-eighths of the value of those which had paid; so that by this operation the number was reduced to 36,920 whole shares and six-eighths.

THE dividends on the shares of the French company, as of all other companies, have varied according to circumstances. In 1722 it was 100 livres †. From 1723 to 1745 it was 150 ‡. From 1746 to 1749 it was 70§. From 1750 to 1758 it was 80 ||. From 1759 to 1763 it was 40 **; and in 1764, it was but 20 livres ††. This account shews that the dividend, and the value of the stock, which always kept pace with it, was necessarily affected by the hazards of trade, and the fluctuation of popular opinion. Hence that pro-

* 16l. 13s. 4d.

† 4l. 3s. 4d.

‡ 6l. 5s.

§ 2l. 18. 4d.

|| 3l. 6s. 8d.

** 1l. 3s. 4d.

†† 16s. 8d.

7 0 0 0 K
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digious rise and fall in the price of the shares, which fell in one year from two hundred * to one hundred pistoles †; then rose to 1800 livres ‡, and soon after fell to 700 §. Yet, in the midst of these revolutions, the stock of the company was much the same. But this is a calculation which the public never makes. It is determined by the circumstance of the present moment, and it's confidence, as well as it's fears, are always exaggerated.

THE proprietors, who were under apprehensions of having their fortunes reduced to half in one day, would no longer run the risques of such a situation. In laying in a fresh stock to trade with, they desired to secure the remainder of their fortune in such a manner, as that the shares should at all times bear a settled price, and an interest that could be depended upon. The government settled this matter by an edict issued out in August 1764. The XIIIth article expressly says, That, to secure to the proprietors a settled income independent of all future events of trade, a sufficient fund should be detached from that portion of the contract which was then free, to secure to every share a capital of 1600 livres ||, and an interest of 80 livres **; and that *neither that interest, nor that capital, should, in any case, or for any cause whatsoever, be answerable for such engagements as the company might enter into after the date of this edict.*

* 167l. 18s. N.B. Each pistole is reckoned at 16s. 9d.

† 83l. 15s. ‡ 75l. 8s. § 29l. 3s. 4d.

|| 66l. 13s. 4d. ** 3l. 6s. 8d.

THE company, therefore, owed for 36,920 shares ^{B O O K} and six-eighths, at the rate of 80 livres * per share, ^{IV.} an interest amounting to 2,953,660 livres †. They paid for their several contracts 2,727,506 livres ‡, which made in all 5,681,166 livres § of perpetual annuities. The life annuities amounted to 3,074,899 livres ||. The sum total of all these life annuities and annual payments was then 8,756,065 livres **. In what manner the company raised money to answer their several demands, shall be the subject of our next inquiry,

That great body, which had been much too deeply concerned in Law's scheme, had advanced him 90,000,000 of livres ††. When that system failed, the government made over to them in payment the exclusive sale of tobacco, which then brought in three millions ‡‡ a year; but they were left without a capital to trade with. This kept them in a state of inaction till 1726, when the government lent them its assistance. The rapid progress they made astonished all nations, and seemed to promise them a superiority over the most flourishing companies. This opinion, which was the general one, emboldened the proprietors to complain that their dividends were not doubled and trebled. They thought, as well as the public, that the king's treasury was enriched with their spoils. The profound secrecy with which every thing was carried on, greatly strengthened these surmises.

* 3l. 6s. 8d.

† 123,069l. 3s. 4d.

‡ 113,646l. 1s. 8d.

§ 236,715l. 5s.

|| 128,120l. 15s. 10d.

** 364,836l. 10d.

†† 3,750,000l.

‡‡ 125,000l.

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The breaking-out of the war between France and England, in 1744, dissolved the charm. The ministry, so much embarrassed in their own affairs to think of doing any thing for the Company, left it to extricate itself. Then, indeed, every one was surprised to see that Colossus ready to fall, which had never yet met with any shock, and whose greatest misfortune had been the loss of two ships of a moderate value. The company would have been ruined, had not the government, in 1747, declared itself their debtor in the sum of 180,000,000 of livres *, and engaged to pay them the interest of that sum for ever at five per cent. This engagement, which was in lieu of the exclusive sale of tobacco, is so important a point in the history of the company, that it would not be sufficiently illustrated, if we did not trace the matter further back.

The use of tobacco, which was introduced into Europe after the discovery of America, made no very rapid progress in France. The consumption was so small, that the first contract, which began the first of December 1674, and ended the first of October 1680, brought in but 50,000 livres † to the government the two first years, and 600,000 ‡ the four last; though the right of stamping pewter had been joined to this privilege. This farm of the revenue was confounded with the general farms till 1691, when it still remained united to them, and was rated at 1,500,000 livres § a

* 7,500,000*l*.† 25,000*l*.‡ 20,833*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.§ 62,500*l*.

year.

year. In 1697, it became once more a separate farm on the same terms, till 1709, when it was increased to 100,000 livres * more, till 1715. It was then renewed for three years only. The two first years ought to have produced 2,000,000 of livres †, and the last 200,000 ‡ more. At that period it was increased to 4,020,000 livres § a year; but this lasted only from the first of October 1718 to the first of June 1720. Tobacco then became a mercantile commodity all over the kingdom, and continued so till the first of September 1721. During this short interval, private persons laid in such a stock, that, when it came to be farmed out again, it could be done but at a moderate price. This contract, which was the eleventh, was for nine years, to commence on the first of September 1721, and continue to the first of October 1730. The farmers were to give 1,300,000 livres || for the first thirteen months; 1,800,000 ** for the second year; 2,560,000 †† for the third; and 3,000,000 ‡‡ for each of the last six years. This agreement did not take place, because the India company, to whom the government owed 90,000,000 livres §§, which had been deposited in the royal treasury in 1717, demanded the farm of tobacco, which had then been made over to them for ever, and which, from particular events, they had never yet enjoyed. Their petition was found to be just, and they obtained what they so warmly solicited.

* 4,166l. 13s. 4d.

† 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

‡ 8,333l. 6s. 8d.

§ 167,500l.

|| 154,166l. 13s. 4d.

** 75,000l.

†† 106,666l. 13s. 4d.

‡‡ 12,000l.

§§ 3,750,000l.

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THEY managed this farm themselves, from the first of October 1723, to the last day of September 1730. The produce during that space was 50,083,967 livres 11 sous 9 deniers *; which made 7,154,852 livres 10 sols 3 den. † a year; out of this must be deducted yearly 3,042,963l. 19s. 6d. ‡ for the charges of preparing the land.

THESE charges were so enormous, that it was thought the business, which grew every day more considerable, would be better in the hands of the farmers-general, who would manage it at less expence by means of the clerks they employed for other purposes. The company accordingly farmed it for eight years, at the rate of 7,500,000 livres § for each of the first four years, and 8,000,000 || for each of the four last. This contract was continued upon the same terms till the month of June 1747; and the king promised to account with the company for the increase of the produce, as soon as it should be know'n and ascertained.

AT this period, the king united the tobacco farm to his other duties, creating and alienating, for the use of the company, an annuity of nine millions ** for ever, upon a capital of an hundred and eighty millions ††. This large compensation was thought to be due to them for the old debt of ninety millions ‡‡; for the overplus of the profit upon the tobacco farm, from 1738 to 1747; and to indemnify them for the expences of the negroe trade, for the losses they had sustained during the

* About 2,086,831l. 18s. 10d. † About 298,120l. 17s. 1d.

‡ About 126,790l. 4s. 2d.

§ 312,500l.

|| 333,333l. 6s. 8d.

** 375,000l.

†† 3,750,000l.

‡‡ 3,750,000l.

war, for their giving up the exclusive privilege of the trade to St. Domingo, and for the loss of the ton duty, which had been suspended ever since the year 1731. Yet this compensation has been thought inadequate by some of the proprietors, who have discovered, that ever since the year 1758, upwards of 11,700,000 pounds weight of tobacco have been annually sold in the kingdom at three livres * a pound, though it had been bought for twenty-seven livres † a hundred.

THE nation was of a very different opinion. The directors, who prevailed upon government to acknowledge so large a debt, have been accused of sacrificing the interest of the public to that of a private society. A writer, who in our days should examine whether this accusation were well or ill-grounded, would pass for an idle man. Such a discussion would be altogether needless, since every circumstance of this transaction has been made public. It will be sufficient to observe, that it was with the nine millions ‡ a year, improperly sacrificed by the state, that the Company was enabled to answer the demand of 8,756,065 livres § with which it was charged, so that the the overplus remaining to them amounted to about 244,000 livres || of net revenue.

It is true, they had private simple-contract debts to the amount of 74,505,000 livres **, but they had in trade, in stock, or in debts to call in,

* 2s. 6d.

† 375,000l.

‡ 10,166l. 13s. 4d.

† 1l. 2s. 6d.

§ 364,836l. 0s. 10d.

** 3,104,375l.

^{B O O K}
_{IV.} 70,733,000 livres*. It will be acknowledged, that beside the difference in the value, there was also some in the nature of the securities. Accordingly, the government must have expected, that it would be obliged to fulfil the engagements of the Company. It has, however, saved ten millions of livres †, the claims of which have been lost, or the claimants themselves have unfortunately perished in the revolutions that happen so frequently in Asia. The losses that have been sustained, respecting what was due to the Company in Europe, in America, and in the Indies, have not been much more considerable; and if the isles of France and Bourbon were ever able to pay the 7,106,000 livres ‡ they owe, the injury upon this point would not have been of much consequence.

THE only wealth of the Company consisted therefore in moveable and unmoveable effects, to the amount of about twenty millions §, and in the prospect of the extinction of the life annuities, which in time must bring in three millions || a year. The actual value of this article might be reckoned equal to a clear capital of thirty millions **.

INDEPENDENT of these properties, the Company enjoyed some very beneficial rights. The exclusive sale of ~~coffee~~ had been granted them; but as public utility required that an exception should be made in 1736, with regard to coffee

* 2,947,208l. 6s. 8d.

† 296,089l. 6s. 8d.

|| 125,000l.

‡ 416,666l. 13s. 4d.

§ 833,333l 6s. 8d.

** 1,250,000l.

imported

imported from the American islands, they obtained, by way of compensation, a yearly sum of 50,000 livres*, which was always duly paid. Even the privilege for Mocha coffee was cancelled in 1767, the government having allowed the importation of that of the Levant. The Company obtained no indemnification on this account.

THEY had experienced a greater loss the year before. In 1720 they had been invested with the sole right of transporting slaves to the American colonies. This system soon appeared to be erroneous; and it was agreed, that all the merchants in the kingdom should be at liberty to carry on the slave trade, upon condition of adding a pistole † per head to the thirteen livres ‡ granted out of the royal treasury. Supposing that 15,000 negroes were disposed of every year in the French islands, this made a clear income of 345,000 livres § for the Company. This bounty, which was allowed them for a trade they were not concerned in, was taken off in 1767, and was made up to them by a more reasonable equivalent.

AT the first formation of the Company they had obtained a gratuity of 50 livres || upon every ton of goods they should export, and of 75** upon every ton they should import from abroad. The ministry, upon the suppression of the bounty upon negroes, increased the gratuity upon every ton exported to 75 livres**, and upon every ton im-

* 2,083l. 6s. 8d.

§ 14,375l.

† 16s. 9d.

|| 2l. 1s. 8d.

‡ 10s. 10d.

** 3l. 2s. 6d.

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ported to 80*. If we rate both at 6000 tons a year, we shall find a produce of above a million† for the Company, including the 50,000 livres ‡ they received upon the coffee.

WHILE the income of the Company remained entire, their expences were lessened. By the edict of 1764, the islands of France and Bourbon were become the property of the government, which engaged to fortify and defend them. By this arrangement the Company was exonerated of two millions \$ a year, without the least detriment to the exclusive trade they enjoyed in those two islands.

WITH all these seemingly prosperous circumstances, the debts of the Company were daily increasing, and it could not possibly have supported itself without the assistance of government. But for some time past the council of Lewis XV. had appeared to be very indifferent about the existence of that great body. At last a decree of council was issued, bearing date the 13th of August 1769, by which the king suspended the exclusive privilege of the India Company, and granted to all his subjects the liberty of, navigating and trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. However, in granting this unexpected freedom, the government thought proper to lay it under some restraint. The decree which opens this new tract to private navigators, requires them to provide themselves with passports, which are to be given

* 3l. 6s. 8d.

† 2,083l. 6s. 8d.

‡ 41,666l. 13s. 4d.

\$ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

them gratis by the directors of the India Company. It obliges them to make their returns to Port l'Orient, and no where else. It establishes a duty by way of Indulto on all goods imported from India; which, by a second decree of council, issued on the sixth of September following, was fixed at five per cent. on all goods coming from India and China, and at three per cent. upon all commodities of the growth of the islands of France and Bourbon.

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THE decree of the 13th of August, by only suspending the privilege of the Company, seemed to leave to the proprietors the power of resuming it: but as they saw no probability of ever being able to do this, they wisely determined to liquidate their concerns in such a manner, as to secure their creditors, and the remains of their own fortunes.

The Company lose all hopes of reviving their trade, and cede all their effects to government.

FOR this purpose they offered to give up to the king all the Company's ships, thirty in number; all the warehouses and other buildings belonging to them at Port l'Orient and in India; the property of their factories, with the manufactures dependent on them; all naval and military stores; and, lastly, two thousand four hundred and fifty slaves which they had in the islands. All these articles were valued at thirty millions * by the proprietors, who at the same time demanded the payment of 16,500,000 livres † which were due to them by the government.

THE king agreed to the proposal, but chose to lessen the purchase-money: not that the effects were

* 1,250,000l.

† 687,500l.

B O O K not of still greater value while they remained in
 IV. the hands of the Company; but being made
 over to the government, they brought an additional incumbrance upon it. So that, instead of 46,500,000 livres *, which the proprietors demanded, the prince, to clear all accounts with them, created a perpetual annuity for their benefit of 1,200,000 livres †, upon a capital of thirty millions ‡. The edict for that purpose was issued in January 1770.

THIS new contract the Company mortgaged for twelve millions §, which they borrowed upon life annuities at ten per cent. and by a lottery in February following. This money was borrowed to enable them to fulfil the engagements they had entered into when they undertook the last expeditions; but it was insufficient; so that, finding themselves utterly unable to raise more, the proprietors, at their meeting on the 7th April 1770, made over their whole property to the king, except the capital that had been mortgaged to the proprietors of the shares.

THE principal articles comprised in this cession, consisted in the abolition of 4,200,000 livres || in life annuities; in that part of the contract of nine millions ** which exceeded the capital of the shares; in the hotel of Paris; in the India goods expected home in 1770 and 1771, supposed to be worth 26,000,000 of livres ††; and, lastly, in

* 1,937,500l.

† 50,000l.

‡ 1,250,000l.

§ 458,333l. 6s. 8d.

|| 175,000l.

** 375,000l.

†† 1,833,333l. 6s. 8d.

three

three or four millions * of debts, to be called in, ^{B O O K}
 from debtors either solvent or insolvent, in India, ^{IV.}
 in the isles of France and Bourbon, and at San
 Domingo. The proprietors engaged at the same
 time to furnish the king with a sum of 14,768,000
 livres †, to be raised by way of a call, which was
 fixed at 400 livres ‡ per share. The government,
 in accepting these several offers, engaged on their
 part to pay all the perpetual and life annuities
 which the Company was bound to pay; all their
 other engagements, amounting to about forty-
 five millions §; all the pensions and half-pays
 granted by the Company, amounting to 80,000
 livres || a year; and lastly, to stand to all the charges
 and risques attending a liquidation that must ne-
 cessarily continue some years.

THE capital of each share, which, by the edict
 of August 1764, had been fixed at 1600 livres **,
 bearing an interest of 80 livres ††, the king now
 raised to 2500 livres ‡‡, bearing an interest of 125
 livres §§ a year. The new interest was made sub-
 ject to a deduction of a tenth, and it was agreed
 that this deduction should be annually appropri-
 ated to the paying off the shares by lot, on the
 footing of their capital of 2500 livres |||; so that
 the interest on the shares thus paid off, would in-
 crease the sinking fund till the whole of the shares
 was finally liquidated,

* About 150,000l. upon an average.	† 615,333l. 6s. 8d.
‡ 16l. 13s. 4d.	§ 1,875,000l.
¶ 66l. 13s. 4d.	3,333l. 6s. 8d.
‡‡ 3l. 6s. 8d.	‡‡ 104l. 13s. 4d.
§§ 5l. 4s. 2d.	104l. 13s. 4d.

THESE

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THESE respective conditions are recorded in a decree of council of the 8th of April, including a report of the deliberations holden the day before in a general meeting of the proprietors, and confirmed by letters patent, bearing date the 22d of the same month. In consequence of these agreements, the call has been paid, a sufficiency for the reimbursement of the shares, to the number of two hundred and twenty, has been taken out every year, and the simple contract debts of the Company have been punctually paid when they became due.

FROM all these particulars, it is no easy matter to form an idea of the actual mode of existence of the India Company, and of the legal state of the trade they carried on. This Company, which at present has no property, no business, no object, cannot however be considered as being entirely destroyed, since the proprietors have reserved the joint stock that was mortgaged for their shares; and that they have a common chest, and deputies to superintend their interests. On the other hand, their charter has been suspended; but it is only suspended, and is not included among the articles which the Company has ceded to the king. The law by which it was granted is still in force; and the ships that are fitted out for the Indian seas, cannot sail without a permission in the name of the Company. So that the freedom which has been granted is but a precarious one; and if the proprietors should offer to resume their trade, with a sufficient stock to carry it on, they would have
an

an undoubted right to do it without any new law ^{B O O K} to impower them. But except this nominal right, ^{IV.} which in fact is much the same as if it did not exist, as the proprietors are not in a condition to exercise it; all their other rights, properties, and factories, are now in the hands of government.

NEVERTHELESS, the voyages to India have been still continued, although the system of policy had not previously paved the way for the free trade that was to succeed the monopoly. If sound principles had been followed, before the new mode of trading had been attempted, it would have been necessary to substitute insensibly, and by degrees, the private merchants to the Company. They should have been enabled to acquire knowledge upon the different branches of a trade with which they were yet unacquainted. They should have been allowed time to form connections in the factories. They should have been encouraged, and, as it were, conducted in the first expeditions.

THIS want of foresight must be one of the principal causes which have retarded the progress of the free trade, and which perhaps have prevented it from being lucrative when it became more extensive: its transactions have been carried on in those factories which were previously occupied by the monopolizing Company. Let us take a cursory view of those settlements, beginning with Malabar.

BETWEEN the provinces of Canara and Calicut, lies a district which extends eighteen leagues along the coast, and seven or eight leagues at most in the

Present state
of the
French up-
on the coast
of Malabar.

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the inland parts. The country, which is very unequal, abounds with pepper and cocoa-trees. It is divided into several less districts, subject to as many Indian lords, who are all vassals to the house of Colastry. The head of this Bramin family is always to confine his whole attention to what concerns the worship of the gods. It would be beneath his dignity to stoop to profane matters; and the reins of government are given to his nearest relation. The country is divided into two provinces. In the largest, called the Irouvenate, is the factory of Tellicherry, where the English purchase annually fifteen hundred weight of pepper; and the factory of Cananor, which the Dutch have lately sold for about 250,000 livres *, because it was an incumbrance to them.

THE second province, called Catenate, extends but five leagues along the coast. Here the French were called in by the natives in 1722, with a view to engage them to act against the English; but an accommodation having taken place, and made their assistance unnecessary, they were forced to relinquish a post where they promised themselves some advantages. Fired with resentment and ambition, they returned in greater numbers in 1725, and established themselves sword-in-hand on the mouth of the river Mahé. Notwithstanding this act of violence, they obtained of the prince, who governed that district, an exclusive right to the pepper trade. This favour was so great an advantage to them, that it gave rise to a

* 10,416l. 13s. 4d.

colony of 6,000 Indians, who cultivated 6,350 ^{B O O K}
cocoa trees, 3,967 areka, and 7,762 pepper- ^{IV.}
trees. Such was the state of this settlement,
when the English made themselves masters of it
in 1760.

THE same spirit of destruction that they had shew'n in all their conquests, influenced them at Mahé. Their intention was to pull down the houses, and disperse the inhabitants. The sovereign of that country dissuaded them from their purpose. All was spared, except the fortifications. When the French returned to their factory, they found every thing much in the same condition as they had left it.

Mahé is surrounded with hills, on which were erected five forts, that no longer exist. These works were too numerous, though some precautions are absolutely necessary. It is not proper to be perpetually exposed to the depredations of the Nayers, who have formerly attempted to plunder and destroy the colony, and who might possibly have still the same intentions, in order to put themselves under the protection of the English at Tellichery, which is but three miles distant from Mahé.

BESIDE the posts requisite to secure the place itself, it is very necessary to fortify the entrance of the river. Since the Marattas have got ports of their own, they infest the sea about Malabar with their piracies. Those banditti even attempt to land wherever they think there is some booty to be got. Mahé would not be secure from their attacks,

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attacks, if it contained money or commodities to tempt them.

THE French might make themselves ample amends for any expences they should incur, if they did but carry on their trade with spirit and skill. Their factory is the best situated for the pepper trade; and the country would afford 2,500,000 pounds weight of that commodity. What could not be consumed in Europe might be sold in China, on the Red Sea, and at Bengal. A pound of pepper would cost them twelve sous *, and they would sell it for twenty-five or thirty †.

THIS advantage, considerable as it is, would be increased by the profits upon European goods which would be carried over to Mahé. Those who are best acquainted with that factory are of opinion, that it will be an easy matter to dispose of 400,000 weight of iron, 200,000 of lead, 25,000 of copper, 2000 firelocks, 20,000 weight of gunpowder, 50 anchors or grapplings, 50 bales of cloth, 50,000 ells of sail-cloth, a good quantity of quicksilver, and about 200 casks of wine or brandy, for the French settled in the colony, or for the English in the neighbourhood. These several articles together would produce at least 384,000 livres ‡, of which 153,600 § would be clear gain, allowing the profit to be 40 per cent. Another advantage attending this circulation is, that there would always be a stock in the factory, which would enable them to purchase the produc-

* 6d.

‡ 16,000l.

† About 1s. 2d. on an average.

§ 6,400l.

tions of the country in the seasons of the year when they are cheapest. BOOK
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THE greatest obstacle to trade is the custom-house established in the colony. This troublesome duty belongs to the sovereign of the country, and has always been a subject of contention. The English of Tellicherry, who laboured under the same grievance, have found means to prevent all disputes about these duties, by paying a certain yearly sum as an equivalent. The French might do the same; but they cannot expect that the prince would agree to it, unless they previously pay him the 46,353 roupees, or 111,247 livres 4 sols*, which he has lent; and unless they no longer refuse him the tribute stipulated for the benefit of living peaceably upon his territories. Matters cannot be so easily adjusted at Bengal.

FRANCE has engaged, by the treaty of 1763, to erect no fortifications, and keep no troops in that rich and extensive country. The English, who are sovereigns there, will not suffer the French to deviate from what they have required. Consequently Chandernagore, which before the last war reckoned 60,000 souls, and has now but 24,000, is, and always will be, entirely an open place. Present state
of the
French at
Bengal.

To this misfortune of a precarious situation, may be added injuries and hardships of every kind. Not satisfied with the possession of unlimited authority, the English have been guilty of the

* 4,635l. 6s.

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most scandalous enormities. They have insulted the French in their work-shops; seduced their workmen; cut the linens off of the looms; insisted that the manufacturers should do no work but for them in the three best months of the year; and that their own ladings should be picked out and completed before any thing was removed out of the work-shops. The scheme which the French and Dutch had contrived together, of making an exact estimate of the number of weavers, taking only half between them, and leaving the rest to the English, has been considered as an insult. That ruling nation have proceeded so far as to declare, that they would have their factors buy the goods even in Chandernagore; and the French have been forced to submit to this hardship, or they would have been excluded from every market in Bengal. In a word, they have so much abused the unjust right of victory, that a philosopher might be tempted to wish for the ruin of their liberty, were not the people infinitely more oppressive and cruel under the government of one man, than under a government tempered by the influence of many.

As long as things remain upon the present footing in that opulent part of Asia, the French will meet with perpetual hardships and mortifications, and therefore no solid and lasting advantage can accrue to trade. They would be rescued from this disgrace, if they could exchange Chandernagore for Chatigan.

CHATIGAN is situated on the confines of Arracan. The Portuguese, who in the days of their prosper-

rity endeavoured to get all the important posts in India into their own hands, made a considerable establishment at that place. Those who were settled there threw off the yoke of their native country, when it became a part of the Spanish dominions, chusing rather to turn pirates than to be slaves. They long infested the neighbouring coasts and seas with their depredations. At last they were attacked by the Moguls, who raised a colony upon their ruins, powerful enough to prevent any inroads which the people of Arracan and Pegu might be tempted to make into Bengal. This place then sunk into obscurity till 1758, when the English arrived and settled there.

THE climate is healthy, the waters excellent, and provisions are in great plenty; the landing is easy, and the anchorage safe. The continent and the island of Sondiva make a tolerable harbour. The rivers Barramputri and Etki, which are branches of the Ganges, or at least communicate with it, greatly facilitate commercial operations. If Chatigan be further distant from Patna, Cassimbuzar, and some other markets, than the European colonies on the river Hughly, it is nearer to Jogdia, Dacca, and all the manufactures of the lower river. It is a matter of no consequence, whether ships of burden can or cannot enter the Ganges on that side, as the inland navigation is never carried on but with boats.

THOUGH the knowlege the English had of these advantages had determined them to seize upon Chatigan, we are inclined to think they would have given it up at the last peace, to get

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rid of the French, and remove them from a place which lies too near their own settlements, and which long habit had endeared to them. We even presume, that at Chatigan the English would have desisted from those conditions they required at Chander-nagore, which stamp a disgrace upon the possessors, more detrimental to the schemes of commerce than it is possible to conceive. Trade is a free profession. The sea, the voyages, the risk, and the vicissitudes of fortune, all inspire a love of independence. This gives life and spirit to trade, which, when confined, languishes, and is lost.

THE present opportunity is, perhaps, a favourable one, to think of the exchange we propose. The fortifications which the English had begun to erect at Chatigan having been throw'n down by frequent earthquakes, they seem to have taken a dislike to a place for which they had shew'n some predilection. As to the French, this inconvenience, great as it is, would be preferable to that of living in a defenceless town. It is better to strive against nature than against men, and to be exposed to the shocks of the earth than to the insults of nations. The French, though restrained at Bengal, fortunately meet with some compensation, in having a better situation on the coast of Coromandel.

Present
situation of
the French
upon the
coast of Co-
romandel.

To the north of that very extensive coast, they possess Yanam, in the province of Rajahmundry. This factory, which has no land belonging to it, and is situated nine miles from the mouth of the river Ingerom, was formerly a very flourishing one.

one. From mistaken motives it was neglected about the year 1748. It would, however, afford goods to the value of 4 or 500,000 livres *, as the cotton manufactures are very considerable in that neighbourhood, and the cottons remarkably fine and good. It has been found by experience to be a good market for disposing of European cloth. The trade of this place would be more lucrative, if they were not obliged to share the profit with the English, who have a small settlement within two miles of the French.

THE competition is much more detrimental to their interest at Masulipatnam. The French, who formerly were masters of the whole town, but have nothing left now except the factory they had before 1749, cannot possibly contend with the English, who make them pay duty for all their imports and exports, and enjoy besides all the favour in their own trade which sovereignty can command. Things being thus circumstanced, the French confine their dealings to the purchase of some fine handkerchiefs and other calicoes, to the amount of 150,000 livres †. It is far otherwise at Karical.

THIS town, situated in the kingdom of Tanjour, on one of the branches of the Coleroon, which will bear ships of 150 tons burthen, was ceded to the Company in 1738, by a derthroned king, who was in want of protection. Having been restored before he had fulfilled his engagements, he retracted the gift he had made. A nabob attacked the place with his army, and in 1739 gave it up to

* From 16,666l. 13s. 4d. to 20,833l. 6s. 8d. † 6,250l.

the French, who were in friendship with him. Soon after this the ungrateful and perfidious prince was fringed by the intrigues of his uncles; and his successor, who had inherited his enemies with his throne, being desirous of obtaining the friendship of a powerful nation, confirmed them in their possession. The English took the place in 1760, and blew up the fortifications. It was afterwards restored to the French, who returned thither in 1765.

In its present state, Karical is an open place, which may contain 15,000 inhabitants, most of them employed in weaving ordinary handkerchiefs and cottons, for the wear of the natives. The territory belonging to it, which has been considerably increased by the concessions which the king of Tanjour made in 1749, is now once more what it was at first, two leagues in length, and one league in the broadest part. It is composed of fifteen hamlets, of which one only deserves our notice; this is called Tirumale-Rayenpatnam, and contains no less than 25,000 souls. The inhabitants weave and paint Persians that are tolerably fine, fit for Batavia and the Philippine islands. The Coolies and Mohammedans have small vessels, with which they trade to Ceylon, and along the coast.

FRANCE may draw annually from this settlement, two hundred bales of cottons or handkerchiefs fit for Europe, and a large quantity of rice for the subsistence of her other colonies.

ALL goods bought at Karical, Yanam, and Masulipatnam, are carried to Pondicherry, the chief settlement of the French in India.

THIS town, which rose from such small beginnings, in time became a great, powerful, and famous city. The streets, which are all strait, and most of them broad, are lined with two rows of trees, which keep them cool even in the heat of the day. The most remarkable public edifices are a mosque, two pagodas, two churches, and the governor's house, which is reckoned the most magnificent building in the east. A small citadel had been constructed in the year 1704; but it is of no use, since houses have been allowed to be built all round it. To supply the loss of this defence, three sides of the town had been fortified with a rampart, a ditch, bastions, and a glacis, which was unfinished in some places. The road was defended by some batteries judiciously placed.

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THE town, which was full a league in circumference, contained 70,000 inhabitants, of which 4000 were Europeans, Mestees, or Topasses. There were at most 10,000 Mohammedans; the rest were Indians, 15,000 of whom were Christians, and the others of seventeen or eighteen different casts or tribes. Three villages, dependent on the town, might contain 10,000 souls.

SUCH was the state of the colony, when the English made themselves masters of it in the beginning of the year 1761, utterly destroyed it, and turned out the inhabitants. Others may, perhaps, examine whether the barbarous right of war could justify such enormities. Let us turn away our eyes from so many cruelties committed by a free, magnanimous, and enlightened nation; and consider only the resolution France has taken to restore

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Pondicherry to it's former splendour. Every thing concurs to justify the wisdom of this choice.

THIS town, like all others on the coast of Coromandel, has no harbour, but it has a much more commodious road. The ships can anchor close to the shore, under the cannon of the fortifications. It's territory, which is three leagues long and one league broad, is nothing more than a barren sand-bank on the sea-coast; but the greatest part is fit for the culture of rice, vegetables, and a root called chayaver, which is used in dying. Two small rivers that cross the country, but are not navigable, afford excellent water for the same purpose, particularly for the blue dye. Three miles from the town is a hill, which rises a hundred toises above the level of the sea, and is a guide to ships at the distance of seven or eight leagues; which is a very considerable advantage upon so flat a coast. At the top of this hill is a very large body of water, that has been collecting for ages, and, after refreshing and fertilizing a spacious territory, flows down to water the grounds about Pondicherry. Lastly, the colony is favourably situated for the reception of provisions and merchandise from the Carnatic, the kingdoms of Mysore and Tanjour.

SUCH were the important reasons which determined France to rebuild Pondicherry. As soon as her agents appeared on the 11th of April 1765, the unfortunate Indians, who had been dispersed by the calamities of war, and by political intrigues, flocked thither in great numbers. By the beginning of the year 1770, there were 27,000 who had

nad rebuilt their ruined houses. They are all brought up in the idea, that no man can be happy who does not die in the very place where he first saw the light. This prejudice, so pleasing to them, and which it may be so useful to keep up, will undoubtedly make them all return, as soon as the town is inclosed.

THIS design was set on foot some years after the French had regained possession of the place. No other idea was then entertained with regard to building upon a sandy soil, where the foundations must necessarily be laid in the water, than that of a fortification raised *sur puits*, a very expensive kind of work, and to which there is, as it were, no end. M. Bourcet preferred the erecting of it upon forelands, with a *revêtement* (or outward coating) of no thickness, sloping to two-fifths of it's height, and supported by a rampart of wet earth, well beat and compacted. These forelands had been formerly employed in the construction of the walls surrounding the place: but the foundation of the walls which supported them had been laid sufficiently deep to prevent the sinking that would have been produced by the running off of the sands which might have escaped from under these foundations; an advantage which the new mode of construction was far from having. Upon this bad plan a thousand toises of revêtement were raised.

No sooner were the ministry in Europe informed of the defects of these works, than they sent M. Desclaisons, a man distinguished in the corps of engineers by his probity and talents. This

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skilful engineer did not adopt either the fortifications *sur puits*; or those on forelands with *revêtemens* sloping to two-fifths of their height. He began his work in February 1770, and completed in seven months an extent of six hundred and thirty-six toises; with ten feet of net masonry above the foundation, which was laid at the lowest point where it was possible to drain off the waters. His masonry was solid, and his *revêtement* constructed according to the rules of the greatest masters.

THE spirit of intrigue, which then carried every thing at Versailles, occasioned M. Desclaisons to be recalled, and he was succeeded by the same engineer whose works had so justly been censured. This man had recourse to his former method, although every thing he had done before was already cracked; and he executed a new extent of fortification of eight hundred toises, which fell to pieces in the same manner as the former.

THE voice of reason, which will sometimes make itself be hear'd, prevailed upon the government to apply again to M. Desclaisons in 1775. He was desired to undertake the completion of the works of Pondicherry, but at the same time to keep the fortifications that were already erected. This mode of proceeding was too repugnant to sound principles for him to accede to it; and he judged it indispensibly necessary to sacrifice every thing that had been executed contrary to the rules of the art. He demonstrated, that the works erected upon forelands were improper both
for

for defence and duration; that the inclined *revêtemens* could not fail of breaking either horizontally or vertically; that a wall placed before the forelands must necessarily make them decay, and might occasion the sinking and destruction of the *revêtemens* themselves. His opinion was, that it was proper to defend Pondicherry according to the methods practised in Europe; and that an inclosure with simple bastions and a few out-works was sufficient. The expences of this fortification were to amount to five millions of livres*. This reasoning, though not controverted, was not acceded to; and the place remained defenceless, or in a state of weakness and ruin, which is every day increasing.

THE French factories in India, in their present state, do not produce more than 200,000 livres †, while they cost more than 2,000,000 of livres ‡ every year. This is a very considerable sacrifice, and yet it is less than what is required for the preservation of the isles of France and Bourbon, which are not in so flourishing a state as they were expected to have been.

BOURBON is sixty miles in length, and forty-five in breadth; but nature has rendered useless the greatest part of this extensive space. Three inaccessible peaks, which are sixteen hundred toises high; a dreadful volcano, the environs of which are always burnt up; numberless ravines, of so steep a descent that it is impossible to clear the soil; mountains, the summit of which is con-

Present state
of the isle of
Bourbon.

* 208,333l. 6s. 8d. † 8,333l. 6s. 8d. ‡ 83,333l. 6s. 8d.

stantly

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stantly arid; coasts in general covered with stones: these are so many natural and unfurmountable obstacles to a cultivation of any extent. Most of the lands even, which can be cultivated, are sloping; and it is not uncommon to see the best founded expectations frustrated by torrents.

A BEAUTIFUL sky, a pure air, a delicious climate, and wholesome waters, have however collected in the island a population of six thousand three hundred and forty white men, well made, strong, courageous, and distributed in nine parishes, of which that of St. Dennis is the principal. These men, a few years ago, were celebrated for a spirit of candour, equity, and moderation worthy of the primitive ages. The war of 1756 produced some little alteration in their character, without affecting materially their morals.

THESE virtues were the more remarkable, as they sprang up and were maintained in the midst of six-and-twenty thousand one hundred and seventy-five slaves, according to the calculation made in 1776.

AT the same period, the colony reckoned seven-and-fifty thousand, eight hundred and fifty-eight animals, not one of which was devoted to agriculture. Excepting two thousand eight hundred and ninety-one horses, which were employed for different purposes, the rest were entirely destined for subsistence.

IN this year the produce of the harvest rose to five millions four hundred and forty-one thousand twenty-five quintals of corn; to three millions one hundred and ninety-one thousand four hundred

dred and forty tons of rice ; to twenty-two mil-
 lions four hundred and sixty-one thousand eight
 hundred tons of mays ; and to two millions five
 hundred and fifteen thousand one hundred and
 ninety tons of pulse. Most of these productions
 were consumed in Bourbon itself ; the rest supplied
 subsistence to the isle of France.

THE colony cultivated for the mother-country
 eight millions four hundred and ninety-three
 thousand coffee-plants, the fruit of which is of
 the best kind next to that of Arabia. Each of
 these trees yielded originally near two pounds of
 coffee. This produce is diminished by three-
 fourths, since the cultivation has been carried on
 in an open country ; since the planters have been
 under a necessity of growing their trees in an ex-
 hausted soil, and since the insects have attacked
 them.

THE court of Versailles will never attend to
 the improvement of a colony, where steep shores,
 and a sea violently agitated, render the navi-
 gation always dangerous, and often impracticable.
 It were rather to be wished that it might be aban-
 doned, because it is a powerful attraction to some
 men, and to some exertions, which should rather
 be all concentrated in the isle of France, which
 is only five-and-thirty leagues distant from it.

ACCORDING to the observations of the Abbé
 de la Caille, this other possession measures thirty-
 one thousand eight hundred and ninety toises in
 it's greatest diameter ; twenty-two thousand one
 hundred and twenty-four in it's greatest breadth ;
 and four hundred and thirty-two thousand six hun-
 dred

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Present
 state of the
 isle of
 France.
 Importance
 of this
 settlement.
 Account of
 what has
 already
 been done,

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and of what
still remains
to be done
for it.

dred and eighty acres of superficies. Numbers of mountains are to be seen in it; not one of which is more than four hundred and twenty-four toises high. Although the soil be in all parts covered with stones of a greater or less size so that it cannot be tilled with the plough, but must be worked with the spade, it is nevertheless fit for many things. Though more superficial and less fertile than that of Bourbon, it is more generally susceptible of cultivation.

THIS island for a long time engaged the speculation, rather than the industry of it's possessors; they wasted their time in conjectures concerning the use it might be put to.

SOME were inclined to make a mart of it, where all India goods should center. They were to be brought thither on India bottoms, and then shipped on board French vessels, which were never to go any further. A double advantage evidently arose from this scheme; first, the expences were lessened, as both the pay and the maintenance of India sailors is very trifling; and, secondly, the ships crews were better preserved, for these were sometimes destroyed by the length of the voyage alone, and still more frequently by the climate, especially in Arabia and at Bengal. This plan met with no support. It was feared that the Company would fall into contempt, unless they displayed, in these distant latitudes, a naval force sufficient to insure respect.

OTHERS, agreeably to a new system which engaged their attention, were of opinion that the inhabitants of the Isle of France should be allowed

lowed to trade to India, which they had never yet been suffered to do. The supporters of this system maintained, that the proposed freedom would prove an abundant source of wealth to the colony, and consequently to the mother-country. But the island was then in want of both vessels and specie; it had no articles for exportation, nor means of consumption. For all these reasons, the experiment proved unsuccessful, and it was resolved that the island should be entirely confined to agriculture.

THIS new regulation gave rise to fresh mistakes. Men were sent from the mother-country to the colony, who neither understood husbandry, nor were accustomed to labour. The lands were distributed at a venture, and without distinguishing what was to be cleared from what did not want it. Money was advanced to the planters, not in proportion to their industry, but to the interest they could make with the government. The Company, who got cent. per cent. upon the commodities the colony drew from Europe, and fifty per cent. upon those that were sent in from India, required that the produce of the country should be delivered into their warehouses at a very low price. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the company, who had kept all the power in their own hands, broke the engagements they had entered into with their subjects, or rather with their slaves.

UNDER such an administration, no improvements could be expected. Discouragement threw most of the colonists into a state of inaction.

Those

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B O O K Those who had some share of industry remaining,
IV. were either in want of the means that lead to prosperity, or were not supported by that strength of mind which enables men to surmount the difficulties always attending upon new settlements. Those who had an opportunity of seeing and observing the agriculture of the Isle of France, found it little better than what they had seen among the savages.

In 1764, the government took the colony under it's own immediate controul. From that period, to 1776, a population has been successively formed there of six thousand three hundred and eighty-six white men, including two thousand nine hundred and fifty-five soldiers; of eleven hundred and ninety-nine free negroes; and of twenty-five thousand one hundred and fifty-four slaves. The cattle on the island has also been increased to twenty-five thousand three hundred and sixty-seven.

THE coffee-tree has employed a considerable number of planters; but the hurricanes that have succeeded each other with extreme rapidity, have prevented any advantage being derived from these plantations. The soil itself, which is in general ferruginous and of little depth, seems improper for this culture. It might therefore with reason be doubted whether it would succeed here, if even the government had not endeavoured to check it, by the duties that have been laid on the coffee at it's going out of the island, and at it's entrance in France.

THREE

THREE sugar-plantations have been established, and these are sufficient for the wants of the colony. BOOK
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No more than forty thousand weight of cotton has yet been gathered. This last commodity is of a good kind, and every thing promises an increase of it.

THE camphor, the aloes, the cocoa-tree, the agallochum, the sago, the cardamom, the cinnamon-tree, and many other vegetables proper to Asia, which have been naturalized in the island, will probably always remain objects of mere curiosity.

SOME iron mines had been discovered a long time; but it has been found necessary to abandon these, because they could not support the competition of those in Europe.

IT is well known, that for these two hundred years, the Dutch have been enriching themselves by the sale of cloves and nutmegs. To secure to themselves the exclusive trade of these articles, they have destroyed or enslaved the nation that was in possession of those spices; and, lest the price of them should fall, even in their own hands, they have rooted up most of the trees, and have frequently burnt the fruit of those they had preserved.

THIS barbarous avidity, which has so often excited the indignation of other nations, so strongly exasperated Mr. Poivre (who had travelled all over Asia as a naturalist and a philosopher), that he availed himself of the authority he was intrusted with in the Isle of France, and sent men into the least frequented parts of the Moluccas, to

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search for what avarice had for so long a time withholden from the rest of the world. The labours of those intrepid and sagacious navigators, in whom he had confided, were crowned with success.

On the 27th of June 1770, they brought to the Isle of France 450 nutmeg and 70 clove-trees; 10,000 nutmegs, either growing, or ready to grow; and a chest of cloves, several of which were sprung up. Two years after this, another importation was made, much more considerable than the former.

SOME of these precious plants were carried to the islands of Seychelles, of Bourbon, and of Cayenne; but the greater part of them remained in the isle of France. All those which were distributed among private persons perished. The care of the most skilful botanists, the most constant attention, and the most considerable expences, could not preserve, even in the king's garden, more than fifty-eight nutmeg, and thirty-eight clove-trees. In the month of October 1775, two of these last bore flowers, which were changed into fruit the next year. That which we have seen is small, dry and meager. If they are not improved by a long naturalization, the Dutch will only have had a false alarm, and they will remain immutably the masters of the spice trade.

SOUND policy has given another destination to the isle of France. The quantity of corn there must be increased; and the crops of rice extended by a more judicious distribution of the waters: it is equally important to attend to the multiplying

ing of the cattle, and to the improvement of the breed.

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THESE objects of first necessity were for a long time inconsiderable, although it was an easy matter to form pasturages, and although the soil yielded twenty for one. Only a few years ago it was suggested to the government, to buy up, at a good price, all the grain which the planters might have to sell; and at this period the harvests were increased. If this plan be uninterruptedly followed, the colony will soon furnish provisions for it's inhabitants, for the navigators that may frequent it's roads, and for the armies and fleets which circumstances will sooner or later bring there. Then this island will be what it should, the bulwark of all the settlements which France possesses, or may one day acquire in the Indies; the center of all military operations, offensive or defensive, which her interest will oblige her to undertake, or to sustain, in these distant regions.

It is situated in the African seas, just at the entrance of the Indian ocean. Though raised as high as arid or burning coasts, it is temperate and wholesome. As it lies a little out of the common track, it's expeditions can be carried on with greater secrecy. Those who wish it was nearer to our continent, do not consider that, if it were so, it would be impossible to pass in a short time from it's road to the gulphs in the most distant of these regions, which is an inestimable advantage to a nation that has no sea-port in India.

GREAT BRITAIN sees, with a jealous eye, her rivals possessed of a settlement where the ruin of

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her

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her property in Asia may be prepared. At the breaking out of a war, her utmost efforts will certainly be exerted against a colony that threatens her richest treasures. What a misfortune for France, should she suffer herself to be deprived of it!

YET what have we not to fear, when we see that to this day no care has been taken for the defence of this island; that the means for this purpose have always been wanting, or misapplied; that the court of Versailles, from year to year, has waited for the dispatches of the directors to come to a determination on this point, just as one would wait for the return of a courier from the frontiers; and that even at the time we are writing, there is still perhaps a dispute, respecting the kind of protection which it is most expedient to adopt for a settlement of this importance.

It is the general opinion of seamen, that the security of the Isle of France must depend entirely on the naval forces: but they acknowledge, that these forces cannot fulfil this intention, till they have been sheltered from those hurricanes so frequent and so terrible, which prevail in these latitudes from the month of December to that of April. A great number of merchantmen have indeed been lost, and whole squadrons have received so much injury, even in Port Louis, the only one to which seamen at present resort, that too much labour cannot be bestowed in guarding against these dreadful events. For a long time, the government paid little attention to this important object. It has at length determined to dig

dig a large harbour in this road, in the comfortable hope that ships of all dimensions may one day find a safe asylum here.

THIS business cannot be pushed on with too much expedition ; but supposing it executed with every possible success, the maritime forces would still be insufficient for the defence of the colony. The state will never subject itself to the expence of maintaining constantly a stationary squadron in these latitudes ; and it is possible that the island may be attacked in the absence of the fleet, which may also be destroyed by sickness or by a storm. Let it be a strong or a weak one, it still runs the risque of being beaten ; and even if it were victorious, an opportunity may have been seized of landing troops during the action. These troops would immediately march on to the port, and would make themselves masters of it, as well as of the victorious ships, which might have taken shelter there in order to refit. By this manœuvre, which is a very simple one, a valuable settlement would fall, without striking a blow, into the hands of an enterprizing and skilful enemy. These apprehensions, which are well founded, argue the necessity of fortifications.

SOME engineers have imagined, that batteries judiciously disposed along the coast, would be sufficient to prevent the besiegers from landing. But since it has been ascertained that the island is accessible to boats in the greatest part of it's circumference, that even in several places, a descent could be effected by force under the protection of the men of war, this plan has been relinquished. It

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has been understood, that there would be an infinite number of posts to fortify; that the expences would be endless; that too many troops would be wanted; and that the distribution of them would leave every point exposed to the consequence of a landing executed suddenly, or by surprize.

THE idea of a war of posts has not been thought a more fortunate one. The Isle of France, notwithstanding the advantage of posts, will never collect a sufficient body of troops to resist those which the enemy may bring there. The persons who have proposed this idea, have laid a stress upon the assistance to be obtained from the colonists and the slaves: but they have been obliged at length to acknowledge, that this multitude, which might possibly be of some use behind good ramparts, could be of little or no service in the open field.

THE project of building and fortifying a city in the inland parts, has for a long time had it's partisans. Such an establishment appeared to them proper to keep the besiegers at a distance from the center of the colony, and to force them, in time, to relinquish any advantages they might have gained at first. They would not be convinced that without any movement on the part of an enemy, who was become master of the ports, and of the coasts, the garrison, deprived of every external communication, would soon be reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion, or of perishing with famine. And even if the enemy were to do nothing more than fill up the roads, and destroy the arsenals, magazines, and all the public edifices, would not their principal object be

be fulfilled? Of what concern would it be then to them, that there should be a fortress and a garrison in the midst of an island, incapable of giving them any uneasiness, or of exciting their jealousy in future?

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AFTER so many variations and such uncertainties of opinion, the government has begun to be convinced, that the only method of defending the colony is to provide for the security of its two ports; to establish a communication that shall give rise to internal connections between them; that shall facilitate a ready distribution of the forces according to the designs of the enemy, and that shall make the succours which might arrive from without by one or other of its roads, common to both parties.

Port-Bourbon, where the Dutch had formed their settlement, and Port-Louis, the only one to which the French resort, had not hitherto appeared capable of being fortified: the first, on account of its vast extent, the latter, on account of the irregular heights which surround it. But the Chevalier d'Arçon has proposed a plan which has removed all these difficulties, and which, after the fullest discussion, has obtained the approbation of those who are the best acquainted with this important art. The expences attending the execution of this great project have been rigidly calculated, and it is affirmed, that they will not be considerable.

BUT what number of troops will be wanted to defend these fortifications? The skilful engineer usually requires but few. He is well aware, that

B O O K if many were to be sent, they would soon grow
IV. effeminate by the heat of the climate, become corrupt by the desire and expectation of gain, ruined by debauchery, and enervated by idleness. Accordingly, he has reduced them in time of peace to two thousand men, who will be easily restrained, exercised, and disciplined. This number appears to him sufficient to resist any sudden or unexpected attack that might fall on the colony. If it were threatened with extraordinary danger from great preparations, a minister, attentive to the storms that are gathering, would have time enough to send over the forces necessary to defend it, or to act in Indostan according to circumstances.

SOME persons will disapprove of these views. The Isle of France costs the state annually eight millions of livres*. This expence, which will scarce admit of any reduction, excites the indignation of many good citizens. Their wish is that this settlement should be abandoned as well as Bourbon, which is only a burdensome appendage to it.

THIS indeed would be the scheme most expedient to be adopted, if we considered only the languishing trade now carried on by the French in India. But political speculations reach beyond this object. It is foreseen, that if this resolution were adhered to, the English would drive all foreign nations from the Asiatic seas; that they would appropriate to themselves all the riches of these extensive regions; and that so many powerful re-

* 333,333l. 6s. 8d.

sources united in their hands would give them a dangerous influence in Europe. These considerations ought still more fully to convince the court of Versailles of the necessity of fortifying the Isle of France ; at the same time taking the most effectual precautions not to be imposed upon by the agents chosen to carry this point into execution.

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HOWEVER, there is so necessary a connection between the Isle of France and Pondicherry, that those two possessions are entirely dependent on each other ; for, without the Isle of France, there would be no protection for the settlements in India ; and, without Pondicherry, the Isle of France would be exposed to the invasion of the English from Asia as well as from Europe.

THE Isle of France and Pondicherry, when considered as having a necessary and mutual connection, will be a security to one another. Pondicherry will protect the Isle of France, as being the rival of Madras, which the English must always cover with their land and sea forces ; and, on the other hand, the Isle of France will always be ready to succour Pondicherry, or to act offensively, as circumstances shall require.

FROM these principles it appears how requisite it is, after having fortified the Isle of France, to put Pondicherry immediately in a state of defence. This place will become the necessary staple of all the trade carried on with India, as well as a deposit of all the troops and provisions that will be sent there. It will also serve to protect a small force, when offensive measures are pursued.

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WHEN the Isle of France and Pondicherry are once put in a proper posture of defence, the court of Versailles will no longer scruple to afford the merchants that protection which the sovereign owes to his subjects, throughout the whole of his dominions. The British ministry, on their parts, will be more fully convinced than they have hitherto appeared to be, of the necessity of restraining the English traders within the bounds of moderation and justice. But will the English Company be made to give up the abuse of power, and to renounce those loose principles which their astonishing success has inspired them with? This cannot be expected. Their resistance would produce acrimony: the interests of the two nations would clash, and war would ensue.

FAR be it from us to suggest any idea that would tend to rekindle the flames of discord. Rather let the voice of reason and philosophy be heard by the rulers of the world. May all sovereigns, after so many ages of error, learn to prefer the virtuous glory of making a few men happy, to the mad ambition of reigning over wasted regions, and people groaning under the weight of oppression! May all men, become brethren, accustom themselves to consider the universe as one family under the eye of one common Father! But these wishes, which are those of every enlightened and humane man, will appear as idle dreams to ambitious ministers, who hold the reins of empire. Their busy and restless disposition will still shed torrents of blood.

SOME pitiful commercial interest will again arm the French and the English. Though Great Britain,

Britain, in most of her wars, has aimed chiefly at destroying the industry of her neighbours; and though the superiority of her naval forces may still keep up the hope, so often disappointed, of effecting this, yet we may safely foretell that she would chuse to remove the scene of action from the seas of Asia, where she would have so little to gain, and so much to lose. That power is not ignorant of the secret wishes formed on all sides for the overthrow of an edifice, which eclipses all the rest. The subah of Bengal is secretly exasperated that he has not even the appearance of authority left. The subah of the Decan is inconsolable to see his commerce under the controul of a foreign power. The nabob of Arcot endeavours to dispel the jealousies of his tyrants. The Marattas are exasperated to find perpetual obstacles to their depredations. All the powers of these countries are either actually enslaved, or think themselves on the eve of being so. England, we may presume, would not wish to see the French at the head of such a confederacy. On the contrary, we may venture to foretell, that a strict neutrality for India would be the wisest plan they could pursue, and the one they would most readily adopt.

BUT would this system be as eligible for their rivals? Certainly not. The French are aware, that warlike preparations made at the Isle of France might be employed with advantage; that the conquests of the English are too extensive not to be open to attacks; and that, since their experienced officers are returned home, the British possessions in Indostan are only defended by young men,

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men, more intent upon making their fortunes than upon military exercises. It is therefore to be presumed, that a warlike nation would eagerly seize an opportunity of repairing their former disasters. At the sight of their standards, all these oppressed sovereigns would take the field; and the rulers of India, surrounded with enemies, and attacked at once on the north and on the south, by sea and by land, would infallibly be overpowered.

Principles
which the
French
ought to
pursue in
India, if
they should
ever recover
the confi-
dence and
power they
enjoyed
there.

THEN the French, considered as the deliverers of Indostan, would emerge from that state of humiliation into which their own misconduct hath plunged them. They would become the idols of the princes and people of Asia, provided the revolution brought about by them should prove a lesson of moderation. Their trade would be extensive and flourishing, so long as they knew how to be just. But this prosperity would end in some fatal catastrophe, should an inordinate ambition prompt them to plunder, ravage, and oppress. They would then, in their turn, share the same fate as their extravagant and cruel rivals whom they had reduced.

To conquer, or to plunder with violence, is the same thing. The plunderer and the violent man are always objects of detestation.

PERHAPS it may be true, that great riches are not to be rapidly acquired without great injustice; but it is not less true, that an unjust man is universally hated; and it is a matter of uncertainty, whether the wealth he hath gained will indemnify him for the odium he hath incurred.

THERE

THERE is not any one nation that is not jealous B O O K
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of the prosperity of another. Why must this jealousy be perpetuated, notwithstanding the experience of it's fatal consequences?

THERE is but one lawful mode of obtaining a superiority over our competitors : this is, mildness in administration ; faithful observance of engagements ; the having goods of a better quality, and the being satisfied with a moderate profit. Why should we have recourse to other measures, which become more hurtful in process of time than they are useful at the moment ?

LET the merchant be humane and just ; and if he should enjoy possessions, let them not be usurped. Usurpation is inconsistent with quiet enjoyment.

TO act with policy, or to cheat with dexterity, is the same thing ; and the only result of it is mistrust, which arises as soon as the duplicity is discovered, and is never removed.

IF it be a matter of importance to a citizen, to establish a character in society, it is of much higher consequence to a nation to acquire one among other nations, in the midst of which it's intention is to settle and prosper.

A wise people will never suffer that any inroad should be made upon liberty or property. They will respect the conjugal tie ; they will conform to the customs of the country ; and wait for a change of manners from time. If they do not bend the knee before the Gods of the country, they will at least carefully abstain from breaking their altars ; let them rather fall by their antiquity. These people will thus become naturalized.

WHAT

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WHAT lesson shall we have learnt from the massacre of so many Portuguese, Dutch, English, and French, unless it have taught to keep upon good terms with the natives? If we act with them as our predecessors have done, we shall certainly be massacred, as they have been.

LET us, therefore, no longer be impostors on our first appearance; servile, when we are received; insolent, when we think ourselves strong; and cruel, when we are become all-powerful.

To insure the affection of the inhabitants of any district, is the only circumstance that can render your settlements firm. Act in such a manner that these inhabitants shall defend you when you are attacked. If they do not defend, they will betray you.

NATIONS that are subdued, long for a deliverer; nations that are oppressed, for an avenger; and they will soon find one.

WILL ye be always extravagant enough to prefer slaves to men that are free; discontented to affectionate subjects; enemies to friends; Yoes to brethren?

If ye should happen to take a part in the disputes between two princes, be not lightly influenced by the call of interest against the claims of justice. What compensation can ye have for losing the title of just? Be rather mediators than auxiliaries. The part of a mediator is always respected; that of an auxiliary always hazardous. Will ye still continue to massacre, imprison, and plunder those who have put themselves under your protection? Proud Europeans, ye have not always conquered by the force of arms. Will ye not at length

length be ashamed of having so frequently de- BOOK
IV
graded yourselves to act the part of corrupters of
the brave commanders of your enemies ?

WHAT do those forts announce with which you have lined all the coasts ; unless it be your terror and the odium of those that surround you ? Ye will no longer be under apprehensions, when ye are no longer detested. Ye will no longer be detested when ye are benevolent. The savage, as well as the civilized man, aspires after happiness.

THE advantages of population, and the means of increasing it, are the same in both hemispheres.

UPON whatever spot ye may settle, if ye respect yourselves, and if ye act as the founders of cities, ye will soon acquire a power not to be subverted. Encourage, therefore, every kind of increase in every rank and profession, except that of priesthood. Let there be no reigning religion. Let every man praise God in the manner most agreeable to him. Let morality be established on the globe : it is the business of toleration.

THE ship that should transport into your colonies healthy and vigorous young men, with industrious and prudent young women, would be the best laden of all your vessels. It would prove the source of eternal peace between you and the natives.

Do not multiply productions alone, but multiply farmers, consumers, and with them every species of industry, every branch of commerce. Much will still remain to be done, while you do not meet with your colonists on the seas ; while they are not as frequently seen upon your shores, as your traders are upon their's.

PUNISH

PUNISH the crimes of your own people still more severely than those of the natives. Thus it is that you will inspire the latter with respect for the authority of the laws.

LET every agent, not only convicted, but even suspected of the slightest extortion, be instantly recalled. When venality is proved, punish it upon the spot, that there may be no temptation on one part to offer, what it would be infamous on the other to receive.

EVERY thing is lost, while your agents are only protected persons, or men of bad fame; the former, who are intent only upon repairing their fortunes, by plundering at a distance; the latter, who come to hide their ignominy in your counting-houses and factories. There is no integrity so confirmed, as to be exposed to cross the line without risk of being tainted.

IF ye are just and humane, people will remain with you; they will do more; they will even quit distant countries to come and reside among you.

APPOINT some days of rest; and institute some festivals, but let them be merely of a civil nature. You will be ever blest indeed, if the most chearful of these festivals shall be celebrated in commemoration of your first arrival in the country.

BE faithful to the treaties you have concluded. Let your ally find an advantage in them, which is the only legitimate guarantee of their duration. If I be injured, either by my own ignorance, or by your cunning, vain is the oath I have taken; heaven and earth will release me from it.

As long as ye shall separate the good of the nation that has received you, from your own advantage,

vantage, ye will be oppressors and tyrants; and it is by the title of benefactors alone that we can conciliate affection. BOOK
IV.

If the man who dwells near you should bury his gold, you may be assured that he curses you.

To what purpose is it that ye oppose a revolution, which, though distant, will certainly be accomplished, notwithstanding all your efforts to prevent it? The world that you have invaded must free itself from that which you inhabit. Then the seas will only separate friends and brothers. What great calamity do ye see in this, ye unjust, cruel and inflexible tyrants?

THE edifice of wisdom is not eternal: but that of folly is continually tottering, and soon falls to pieces. Wisdom imprints it's lasting characters upon the rocks; Folly traces her's on the sand. Settlements have been formed and subverted; ruins have been heaped on ruins; countries that were well peopled have become desert; ports that were full of buildings have been abandoned; vast tracts that had been ill cemented with blood have separated, and have brought to view the bones of murderers and of tyrants confounded with each other. It seems as if from one region to another prosperity had been pursued by an evil genius which speaks our several languages, and which diffuses the same calamities in all parts.

LET our first victims no longer feel themselves avenged, and rejoice at sight of the rage we are continually exerting against each other. May these ideas, throw'n out without art, and as they presented themselves to my mind, make a deep

